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SOAS MUSICOLOGY SERIES · VOLUME 3

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# WORDS WITHOUT SONGS

A MUSICOLOGICAL STUDY OF AN EARLY  
OTTOMAN ANTHOLOGY AND ITS PRECURSORS

BY

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1992



0 000799380017

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

1992

Published by the School of Oriental and African Studies  
(University of London), Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square,  
London WC1H 0XG

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**British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 7286 0209 1

ISSN 0965-1829

Printed in Great Britain by Hobbs the Printers Ltd., Southampton

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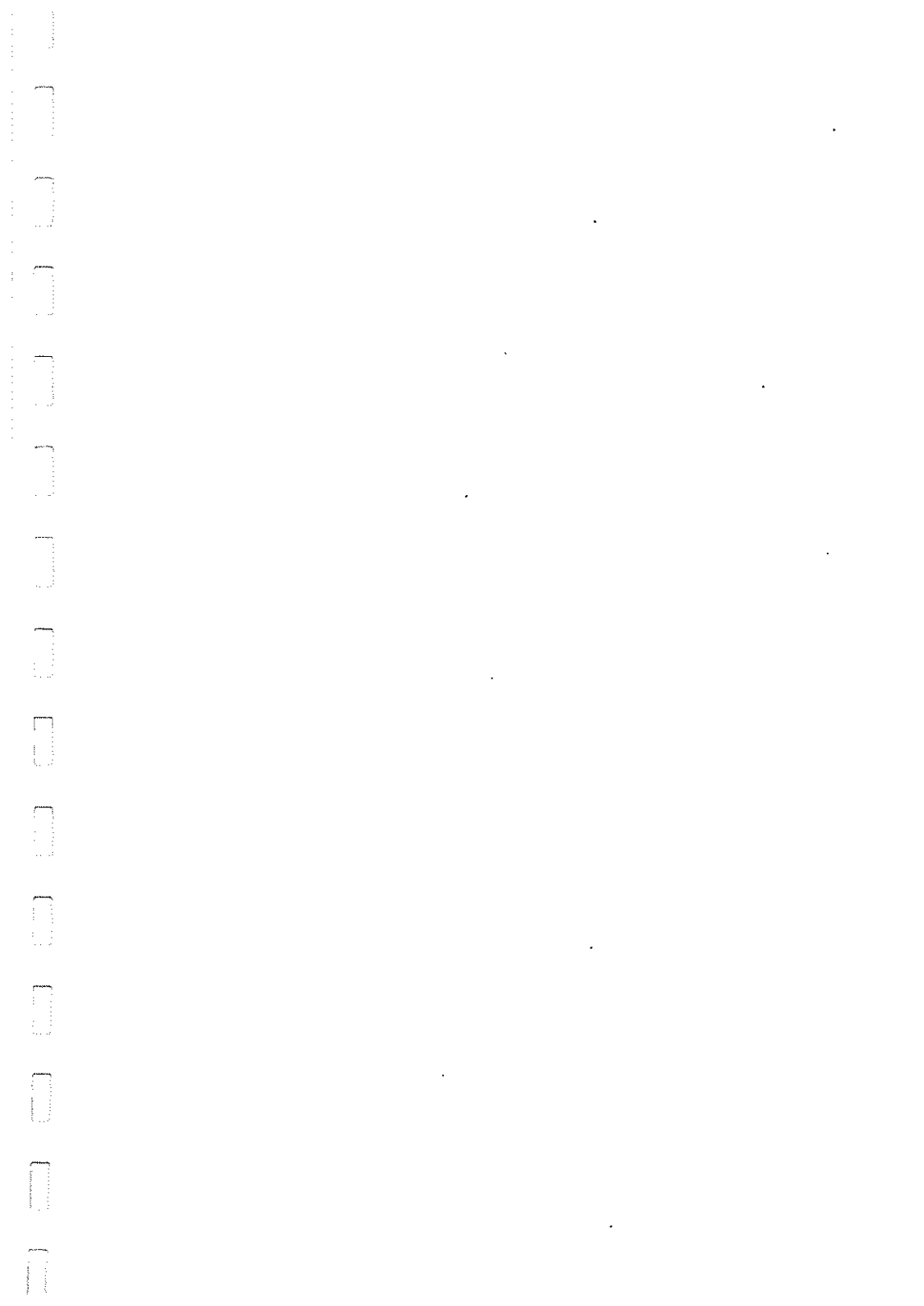


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## Preface

The present work is an incidental result of a period of research leave spent in Istanbul in 1985-6. Brief jottings were made about the song-text collections held in several libraries (in particular the Üniversite Kütüphanesi), if in a desultory fashion (thus explaining the sketchy nature of much of the information assembled in the first appendix), and the first draft of an article was written on the earliest examples of the genre. However, this seemed not to do the subject justice, although the constant revisions and extensions made during the following years have now perhaps passed the point at which a halt should have been called.

For allowing me access to the relevant libraries I am grateful to the Turkish authorities and, in particular, to the friendly cooperation provided by the staff of the Üniversite Kütüphanesi and by the Director and staff of the Süleymaniye and its dependencies. For permission to reproduce samples from various manuscripts I am indebted to the Directors of the Bodleian Library, the Herzogliche Bibliothek zu Gotha, the Topkapı Kütüphanesi and the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi. For help and advice generously given I should also like to thank the following: my former colleague Tourkhan Gandjei, for his patient philological guidance; my colleague Richard Widdess, for his valuable comments on a draft of Chapters 1 to 3; Cem Behar, for his equally helpful comments on a draft of Chapter 1; Angelika Jung, for alerting me to the existence of a relevant manuscript in Gotha and helping me gain access to it; Catherine Lawrence, for drawing the various figures and maps; and Diana Matias, for her careful proof-reading of the entire typescript.

The original research leave was funded jointly by the British Academy and the School of Oriental and Africal Studies, to both of which I am indebted. I should further wish to thank the School of Oriental and Africal Studies for accepting this work for publication in its Musicology Series and for covering the printing costs.

## Note on transliteration

Two systems are employed, one for Arabic and Persian sources, the other for (generally later) Ottoman sources. As a result a number of technical terms appear in different places in slightly different forms. To avoid confusion both are given (and cross-referenced) in the glossary/index and they are also, on occasion, juxtaposed in the text. The following are the consonant equivalences in the two systems:

	Arabic/Persian	Ottoman
ا	f	s
ب	j	c
پ	ç	ç
ت	z	j
ث	s	s
ج	q	k
ح	w	v

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Scope

Given the paucity of technical treatises on music in pre-modern Turkish,<sup>1</sup> it may reasonably be claimed that the most characteristic Ottoman form of musical literature is to be found not among works providing descriptive or analytical material but in the song-text collections, *beste/şarki/güfte mecmuaları*. Attested at least from the late seventeenth century, this particular type of anthology became increasingly popular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and towards the end of the period, as the manuscript tradition began to be supplemented by printed examples, moved from the private to the public domain where, indeed, it is still by no means defunct.<sup>2</sup>

But despite occasional scholarly probing,<sup>3</sup> it is fair to say that such works have failed to receive the attention which the evident popularity of the genre would seem to justify. Reasons for neglect would not be hard to seek: the *güfte mecmuası* belongs functionally to the realm of music, but the early examples, for which there is little or no access to the accompanying melodies, could now be thought of as primarily literary in relevance as well as content, while for the musicologist the crucial absence of any notation has presumably

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<sup>1</sup> A preliminary list of theoretical works may be consulted in Oransay 1964. After a promising beginning during the reign of Murad II (1421-51), marked by such achievements as the translation of Şafî al-Dîn's *kitâb al-adwâr* and the *edvâr* of Hızır b. 'Abdullâh, little of importance was produced in Turkish before Cantemir's treatise (also normally referred to by the title *edvâr*) of c. 1700, and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are again relatively thin.

It is true that at least down to the end of the fifteenth century important works may be found in Arabic (e.g. the *risâla al-faḥriyya* of al-Lâḍiqî) or Persian (e.g. the *naqāwat al-adwâr* of 'Abd al-'Azîz b. 'Abd al-Qâdir) which are dedicated to Ottoman sultans, but certainly from the seventeenth century onwards one would have expected any strong Ottoman interest in the theory of music to have been translated into the production of far more technical treatises in Turkish than are known to have been written.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest printed example is the lithograph collection of Haşim Bey (1864) which, as an echo of manuscript practice, includes a number of blank pages. Modern examples include Aksüt 1983, Ünkan 1984 and Üngör 1981. The shift from manuscript/private to printed/public inevitably brought with it changes in character and function, but the analysis of such developments is beyond the scope of the present work.

<sup>3</sup> For example as sources for the biographies of musicians in Ezgi 1-5. Specific studies of a single work are: Bakırcioğlu 1949-50, Özpekel 1979. Their emphasis is, however, wholly literary.

meant that they have generally been deemed insufficiently informative to warrant detailed investigation. The recent examples, on the other hand, could have been accepted as no more than prompts for material still largely present in the repertoire, and stored not in the text itself, but in the memory of the musician or musicologist: the temptation therefore is to look not so much at them as through them, with, further, the perceived transparency of relatively modern texts, the melodies for which are known, possibly even diverting attention away from the opacity of more ancient ones. Again, in so far as the early texts may be said to belong to the domain of literary history, their uneasy juxtaposition of lines from major poets, already known to scholars from other sources and in any case frequently surrounded or even interrupted by irritating sequences of nonsense syllables, and material of decidedly ephemeral quality, would hardly seem to command urgent critical evaluation, however attractive a topic the confluence of musical and literary taste at any given period might be.

Ottoman song-text collections of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries are typologically similar in that they tend to employ a common format, the material habitually being organized not, say, by composer or genre, but by *makam*. That they belong to a common tradition is demonstrated further by their inclusion of pieces by known Ottoman composers, some repeated in one collection after another, and more obviously by the simple fact that the great majority of the texts are in Ottoman Turkish. But, as might be expected, this tradition was not a unique phenomenon, and there are other anthologies standing outside it with which it may profitably be compared. Ignoring occasional collections of exclusively Arabic material, we may consider as particularly relevant to the Ottoman tradition a small group of earlier works with mixed Arabic and Persian contents which, although generally employing another type of format and, doubtless more important, presenting a wholly different repertoire, nevertheless contain, for example, numerous compositions attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī (d. 1435), who also figures prominently in the Ottoman anthologies and is commonly held today to be the first great composer in the Turkish art-music tradition whose works have survived in any appreciable numbers. As it would be potentially misleading to distinguish these earlier collections from the evidently Ottoman ones by labelling them starkly as either pre- or non-Ottoman they will be referred to simply as representing an antecedent tradition.<sup>4</sup>

No attempt will be made to explore the purely literary aspects of these two anthology traditions. Rather, consideration will be given to them as

<sup>4</sup> Such collections have received even less critical attention. A preliminary sketch of library holdings for both the Ottoman and the antecedent traditions is given in appendix 1. The bibliographical study by Dānišpažūh (1977), which also refers to works in both, will be discussed in appendix 2.

A further, parallel, tradition that should be mentioned is that of collections of Hebrew *piyyutin*, aspects of which have been studied by Seroussi (1990a and 1990b).



repositories of musical data complementing the information to be found in theoretical treatises (although at the same time often employing a technical vocabulary needing to be interpreted in the light of theoretical statements). One potentially fruitful approach would be to concentrate on specifically Ottoman works, exploiting the sheer quantity of data they provide to map in some detail various developments in the history of the vocal repertoire of Turkish music from the end of the seventeenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Here, however, attention will be focused on just one Ottoman collection of the late seventeenth century, possibly the earliest fully representative specimen of the *güfte mecmuası* tradition to have survived. Its contents will be considered in the light of contemporary sources,<sup>5</sup> in order to examine the nature of text-setting during one clearly defined period, and to compare the vocal and instrumental repertoires with regard to certain technical features. But it will also be considered in relation to the antecedent tradition, with the aim of shedding light on developments during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, supplementing therefore the rather sketchy information provided by theoretical treatises, and allowing us not only to define with rather greater precision than hitherto the salient characteristics of the systems of mode and rhythm and the direction in which they were evolving, but also to gain some insight into the internal structure of the various song forms, a topic frequently ignored by theorists during this period, and beyond that to address more general issues concerning the nature of the repertoire and the durability or transience of composers' reputations, all contributing, it is hoped, to a clearer picture of the relationship between Ottoman music in the seventeenth century and that of the preceding periods.

It is to a survey of three representative examples of the antecedent tradition that the first and most extensive part of the present study is devoted. It will begin by dealing with their format. The general nature of the settings they contain will then be described, and the technical terminology they employ investigated in the context of an examination of the structure of the different categories of songs which will also deal with the internal organization of the various sections and, with particular reference to the most detailed of the three, the techniques of verse setting. As a preliminary step, however, it will be necessary to tackle the question of the chronological (and geographical) relationships between the various texts under consideration.

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<sup>5</sup> Principally the mixed collection of vocal and instrumental pieces made by 'Alî Uşâkî (British Library MS Sloane 3114; facsimile in Elgin 1976). Because of its unique status in recording (in western notation) the melodies as well as the words of songs, this work stands outside the *güfte mecmuası* tradition, despite its formal similarity in the arrangement of contents. Comparative reference will also be made to the c. 1700 collection of instrumental pieces made by Cantemir (Türkiyat Enstitüsü MS Y. 2768; those composed by Cantemir himself are reproduced in facsimile in Popescu-Judetzu 1973).

## 1.2. Sources

All four works are, as is unfortunately normal, untitled, undated, and lacking in any explicit indication of authorship. The Ottoman example, however, is a collection the main (although not the only) contributor to which may be identified with some confidence as the celebrated composer Hâfız Post (1630?-94).<sup>6</sup> It will be referred to henceforth as HP. But of the other three not even the identity of the compilers is known. One is in the Bodleian,<sup>7</sup> another in the Süleymaniye, being part of the Bağdatlı Vehbi Efendi collection now housed there.<sup>8</sup> They will be referred to as Ox and S respectively. The third exists in two versions: one belongs to the impressive group of musical manuscripts that forms part of the original nucleus of the Nuruosmaniye library,<sup>9</sup> while the other is in Gotha.<sup>10</sup> It will be referred to collectively as NO/G, but as the two versions differ quite considerably they will also on occasion be referred to separately as NO and G. These three works are not merely representative, but constitute in fact the bulk of what survives of the antecedent tradition.<sup>11</sup>

## 1.3. Relationships

All that has been established so far is that HP clearly belongs to the specifically Ottoman song-text genre, and that NO/G, S, and Ox equally clearly do not. But as only HP can be dated with any accuracy the claim that the other three are earlier needs to be substantiated; and in addition to an attempt to provide an

<sup>6</sup> Not, however, identified as such by specific reference on title page or in a colophon (which is normally absent: the manuscript *gâfîe mecmuası* is typically an unfinished open-ended work in progress and may indeed be further expanded, as is the case here, by other hands, or even by subsequent owners). What settles the matter is the presence of many compositions the composer of which names himself with conventional self-abasement as Hâkîr Hâfız, and the identification of this Hâfız with Hâfız Post is assured by the absence of any composers later than his slightly younger contemporary İtîrî. The MS is Topkapı R. 1724.

<sup>7</sup> MS in two volumes, Ouseley 127 and 128.

<sup>8</sup> MS 1002. The title given, not unreasonably, is '*Mûsikî mecmuası*', but the work is wrongly ascribed to 'Şams Rûmî', who happens to be the composer of the first piece in the central section of the MS, the part that belongs to the antecedent tradition.

<sup>9</sup> MS 3652. The catalogue card invents the title '*Macmû'at-ân fî 'İlm al-mûsikî*', giving an entirely false impression of the contents which is reinforced by the statement *mâteaddid mûsikî şînasın bestelerinden bahisdir*, as if it contained something other than the songs themselves.

<sup>10</sup> MS orient. P87. I am indebted to Dr. A. Jung for drawing my attention to this MS. Dânişpaşazâde (1977) makes no reference to it.

<sup>11</sup> The only others that come into consideration are a Paris MS (Bibliothèque Nationale Blochet 1928: 485 - MS 2013: ancien fonds 260) the contents of which as described by Dânişpaşazâde (1977) demonstrate a close affinity with those of Ox, and one in Lahore (University Library MS pph III 16/1636), also noted by Dânişpaşazâde. It has not been possible to consult these.

approximate date for NO/G, S, and Ox there will also need to be some justification of the assumption that they belong to a common tradition, antecedent or otherwise. The latter point may be dealt with rather easily, for the three have more to link them than just the negative fact of difference from HP. S and Ox are closely related in their technique of presentation and, although in some respects dissimilar in contents, do have a substantial number of pieces in common. NO/G stands somewhat apart from both in contents (having very few pieces in common with them), format (where it superficially resembles rather the Ottoman type), and also in its technique of presentation, which is in certain respects unique. But these are less major matters of principle than minor ones of emphasis, and in any case do nothing to undermine the central features uniting all three, namely, the prominence they unanimously accord to a small group of thirteenth- to fifteenth-century composers, however few the number of specific compositions ascribed to them that they share; the very similar terminology they display; and the fact that they contain virtually identical kinds of settings of texts which are, furthermore, largely congruent in terms of language distribution.

If such broad typological affiliations may be fairly straightforward to establish, considerable difficulties are encountered in attempting to arrive at if not an absolute then at least a relative chronology, for in this respect the relationships between the four collections are rather problematic. But it is worth pointing out initially that the questions raised are not merely to do with ascertaining dates: they imply also definitions - or perhaps rather perceptions - of the temporal and spatial limits of a composite tradition, and the terms in which change and differentiation within it may most profitably be discussed. Under the broad rubric of the common (if not wholly homogeneous) idiom of Middle-Eastern art-music, to what extent might all four reflect local, partly or almost wholly separate and hence possibly near contemporary repertoires? To what extent might the so-called antecedent collections represent an earlier (but how much earlier?) stage or stages within the development of this tradition which, when contrasted with that embodied in HP, would allow us, say, to assess the durability over long periods of certain formal structures and techniques of verse setting? Or more specifically, to what extent, given the common lineage suggested by the presence in all four of pieces ascribed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi, might the nature of their contents support or run counter to the generally held assumption of a continuity in Turkish art-music going back at least as far as the early fifteenth or even the late fourteenth century, and for which the survival of compositions by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi is often adduced as positive evidence?<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Öztuna 1 (s.v. Abdülkadir Merāḡi) for the traditional view which, despite the negative conclusions reached by such an authoritative figure as Ezgi (5: 522), continues to assert the survival of a core of genuine pieces by him. More recent scholarship is less accommodating, however: Bardakçı (1986: 127-9) rehearses the many difficulties that stand

Such explicit reference to 'Turkish' (rather than, say, 'Islamic' or 'Middle-Eastern') art-music naturally raises the spectre of ethnic and linguistic criteria (and claims) promoted by modern nationalist ideologies; but these can only be of very restricted relevance in the context of the not necessarily uniform, but fundamentally unitary and universal nature of pre-modern Islamic urban culture.<sup>13</sup> It is obviously proper, when discussing HP or the contemporary collection of 'Ali Ufki (1610-c. 1675), to speak expressly in terms of Ottoman music, and to imply thereby not only a clear geographical locus but also some degree of differentiation, however slight, in relation to the musical practices of other areas. But on a synchronic level this does not entail lack of contact: it is legitimate to assume that regional traditions were still mutually permeable, as they had been during the time of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi; and from a diachronic perspective it must be recognized that Ottoman art-music of the seventeenth century was one of the direct inheritors (but not the only one) of that broader Middle-Eastern tradition of which he was such a notable exponent. In effect, for the period stretching from the thirteenth century (if not before) to the seventeenth (if not beyond), it would be reasonable to posit, with some degree of local variation, a broadly understood art-music idiom prevailing in all the major urban cultural centres of a region not easily defined with precision, but normally having as its core an area stretching from Egypt through the Fertile Crescent to Persia and Khorasan, and extending at times to include Transoxiana and, more relevantly in the present context, parts of Anatolia. Whether by simple adoption or through a complex process of adaptation the details of which remain obscure, it was this idiom which was to form the basis of the art-music patronized by the Ottoman court from the fifteenth century on.<sup>14</sup> Even if precise localization of the three antecedent works proves impossible, it would still therefore be feasible, assuming

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in the way of accepting them as authentic, while Behar (1987: 55) assigns them on stylistic grounds to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

<sup>13</sup> They are, indeed, only worth mentioning because of the distorting effect they have sometimes cast over modern scholarship, resulting in exaggerated (but more significantly somewhat pointless) claims concerning the degree of Arabness, Persianness, or Turkishness of various phenomena and persons. As just one possible illustration among many of the urge to appropriate, one may cite Barkīšī (1326/1947: 3-4) countering Arab claims concerning al-Fārābī and Šafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī by stressing a Persian theoretical background: for Turkish writers (e.g. Öztuna 1-2), on the other hand, both are Turks. The opposite tendency, the need to maintain exclusivity and reject any possible taint of cultural indebtedness is, for Turkish music, represented in its purest form by Arel 1969.

<sup>14</sup> For documentation on musicians and patronage from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries see Neubauer 1969, where the general situation for this period is well summed up (p. 234): "...zu jener Zeit die Kunstmusik - aber auch nur die Kunstmusik -, die zwischen İsfahān, Erzincan, Bağdād, Damaskus und Kairo gemacht wurde, sich so weit geñhelt hat, daß das Lied eines Musikers aus einer dieser Städte in einer der anderen nicht als Kuriosität oder gar als fremd betrachtet, sondern verstanden wurde und echte Begeisterung auslösen konnte, wie sie nur bei vertrauten Klängen entstehen kann." That similar positive reactions were also normal later is demonstrated by e.g. the stories concerning Šāhkūlī (legendary or not: see Neubauer 1986: 348); and by the acceptance (towards the middle of the eighteenth century) of the Ottoman tanbur player Arutin at the court of Nadir Shah (Tamburist Arutin 1968: 145-6).

only that they may be assigned to a significantly earlier stage within this broader tradition, to regard HP in a general sense as a descendant of them.

As has been noted, one characteristic of Ottoman song texts as manifested in HP is that they are predominantly in Turkish, and it is precisely the identity of the languages set that constitutes the most immediately striking contrast between HP and the other anthologies. In HP, as in later Ottoman collections, there is a particular category of early pieces consisting of settings of Persian verse, but otherwise the great majority of texts are Turkish; Ox has a particular category of songs with Turkish texts (and another with no texts), but the great majority of pieces have Persian or Arabic texts; in NO/G there is only one example of Turkish verse, and in S none at all: their contents are approximately two-thirds Persian and one-third Arabic. Furthermore, within the main area of the Persian-language settings none of those found in NO/G, S and Ox appear to be represented in HP. Some of the possible implications of such marked differences in contents will be explored later, and here it may merely be noted that the lack of any overlap with HP is decidedly unhelpful when attempting to date the other three.

Given the broad framework sketched above, one would conclude that such a state of affairs, combined with the language difference, points to NO/G, S and Ox being temporally and/or spatially at a considerable remove from HP. These two axes may best be considered separately.

### 1.3.1. Temporal

The logical possibility that NO/G, S and Ox might relate to geographically distinct traditions contemporary with, or even posterior to, that recorded by HP in the latter half of the seventeenth century may be excluded without delay. Comparison of the technical terminology common to all three with that found in HP, which must have been well established by 1650,<sup>15</sup> on the one hand, and on the other, that found in fifteenth-century treatises, would indicate an intermediate date: certainly the quite substantial differences to be observed between HP and the antecedent anthologies in the vocabulary of formal structure and the nomenclature of the melodic and rhythmic modes make it difficult not to conclude that they are documents of no later than the end of the sixteenth century. To this may be added the general point that several of the composers represented in them are significantly earlier than any found in HP. Confirmation and further precision is fortunately provided quite explicitly by one of the antecedent texts themselves, for

<sup>15</sup> Hâfiz Post may himself already have been composing at this date, or at least learning some of the compositions recorded in his *mecmua*. Independent confirmation may be seen in the earlier of the two collections of notations by 'Alî Üfki (Bibliothèque Nationale MS Turc 292) which must relate to mid-century practice and, as one significant pointer, records pieces in the rhythmic cycle *devr-i kebir*, common in later Ottoman anthologies, but absent from all those of the antecedent tradition.

Ox contains both a later note (having nothing to do with the musical contents) dated 23 *šawwāl* 1026/24.x.1617, which provides a *terminus ad quem*,<sup>16</sup> and a setting of verse in praise of Sultan Süleyman (1520-66), giving us, therefore, 1520 as a *terminus a quo*.<sup>17</sup> Other verses enable us to narrow this period further, for there are two settings eulogizing Bayezid II (1485-1512)<sup>18</sup> by a certain Mawlānā Ḥwāja Rūmī, the only composer in the collection to whose name is appended the formula *sallamah allāh* and, if it is accepted that the use of this phrase implies that he was still alive at the time of writing, it follows, given that at the very latest he can hardly have been born much after 1490 and is therefore unlikely to have outlived Süleyman, that it is during Süleyman's reign that Ox was probably compiled.<sup>19</sup> S cannot be dated quite so confidently, but there is at least one specific indication: the composer of the song in Ox addressed to Sultan Süleyman is also represented in S, where he is referred to as 'the late' 'Alī 'Awwād,<sup>20</sup> so that it cannot have been compiled before 1520, and is unlikely to be much earlier than 1550. There is, unfortunately, no comparable internal evidence to show that it could not have been written as late as 1600, the date suggested above as the likely limit for texts of this type, and if the vocabulary of form is adduced as a criterion one would certainly judge it to be somewhat later

<sup>16</sup> Ouseley 128: (fol.) 105b. A further date, 3 *jumādā al-āhira* 1027, is to be found in another, briefer, note on fol. 107b. The catalogue (Sachau and Ethé 1889: 1068-9) makes no reference to these, suggesting simply that the MS 'may be as old as two or three centuries'. Ouseley 127 and 128 are cited in Land 1886 which, although not mentioning either date, does assign the collection to the sixteenth century (and also, interestingly, but without giving a reason, relates it to the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605)).

<sup>17</sup> Ouseley 127: 75a (here and elsewhere below the reference indicates the folio on which the heading of the piece is written: the bulk of the setting could therefore be overleaf or on the next folio):

*sipīr-i saltanat dar mulk-i 'uṣmān šāh-i āfāq sulṭān ibn-i sulṭān*  
*turā bād[ā] baqā tā āb u ḥākast agar bar bād šud mulk-i sulaymān*  
*sulaymān turā zibād ki ḥāqān zi dīwān-i salāṭīn ḥukm u firman*

(The sphere of majesty in the Ottoman realm is the king of the wide world, the Sultan son of a Sultan./ May you live as long as sea and earth endure, though the kingdom of Solomon has turned to air./ Being as Solomon becomes you, great emperor that you are: from the Sultans' government [comes] firm rule.)

<sup>18</sup> Ouseley 127: 47b:

*zill-i ḥaq sulṭān-i barr ū baḥr sulṭān bāyazīd*  
*bād mulkāš dar tavaqqī tā abad 'umraš mazīd*

(Shadow of God, lord of land and sea, Sultan Bayezid: may his kingdom be ever exalted, his life prolonged for all time.)

Ouseley 127: 92a:

*ayā šāh-i jilhān-ard ū ibn-i ḥāzrat-i sulṭān*  
*ki ārā nām šud šāh bāyazīd ibn-i muḥammad ḥān*

(O king, adornment of the world and son of an imperial Sultan, who has the name King Bayezid, son of Mehmed Khan.)

<sup>19</sup> External support for this dating is given by the typologically similar Paris MS (see note 11), which is stated by Blochet to be written in a Turkish *nasta'liq* hand of the mid sixteenth century.

<sup>20</sup> Fol. 45a (and elsewhere): 'alī 'awwād *rahmat allāh 'alayh*. References to S will throughout be according to the new overwritten foliation: previously fol. 1 signalled the beginning of the main text (which now commences on fol. 3).

than Ox. But a different conclusion would be reached if appeal were made to the terminology of rhythm, for in this respect S appears more conservative than Ox, and a date as late as 1600 would be quite unrealistic. It is possible, therefore, that S could be contemporary with Ox, but marginally more likely that it is slightly later, although still probably nearer to the middle than to the end of the century.<sup>21</sup>

For NO/G, however, even such modest approximations seem difficult to achieve. In the light of the above, the only way in which it could not be considerably earlier than HP would be as a record of an extremely conservative local repertoire miraculously preserved in isolation from the mainstream of the Middle-Eastern art-music tradition. The unlikelihood of such an eventuality hardly needs stressing, and one would therefore begin by again setting 1600 as the latest possible date, but with the earliest possible date now being pushed back to 1435, the year in which 'the late' 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī died.<sup>22</sup>

Within this time span further refinement is possible, although the evidence is sketchy, and by no means conclusive. The most obvious clue would seem to lie in textual references: NO contains a text in praise of a certain Sultan Murad,<sup>23</sup> and there is another such text in G.<sup>24</sup> But the years 1435-1600 provide two possible candidates, Murad II (1421-51) and Murad III (1574-95), and for evidence to decide between them we will need to seek elsewhere, considering, for example, more exact matching of the technical nomenclature; the distribution and identity of musical forms; and the chronological range, in so far as it can be established, of the composers represented. cursory examination of HP and later anthologies in the Ottoman tradition suggests that much of the repertoire they record is contemporary or near-contemporary, and on the initial assumption that such might also be the case here one might look for greater precision through being able to locate biographical material on some of the composers mentioned. The little that is available would point to an early date: indeed, of the few immediately identifiable composers 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī is among the latest, while prominent among them is that other and much earlier great composer-

<sup>21</sup> Detailed scrutiny of the theoretical literature would ideally reveal lines of cleavage allowing greater precision of temporal or spatial definition, thus helping to interpret the nature of such terminological differences, but before this can be attempted much preliminary work is still needed: the dating of many post-fifteenth-century treatises is no easier than that of the song collections themselves.

<sup>22</sup> He is referred to (NO: 32b) as *ustā 'abd al-qādir raḥimah allāh*.

<sup>23</sup> Fol. 142a:

*dawlat-i sulṭān murād 'arṣa-i dawrān girift  
māh-i sar-i sanjaqāṣ sar-ḥad-i kaywān girift*

(The kingdom of Sultan Murad has conquered the whole wide world. The crescent moon atop his banner has conquered the frontiers of Saturn.)

<sup>24</sup> Fol. 130b:

*pādīshāh-i haft kiṣwar ṣahriyār-i bi badal  
sāya-i ḥaḡ āftāb-i salṭanat sulṭān murād*

(Lord of all seven climes, sovereign without peer, shadow of God, sun of the kingdom, Sultan Murad.)

theorist, Šafi al-Dīn (d. 1294),<sup>25</sup> together with a number of his contemporaries: Ḥasan-i Zāmir, Suhrawardī, and 'Alī Sitā'i.<sup>26</sup> We thus have a group whose compositional activity may reasonably be assigned to the years 1230-1330,<sup>27</sup> to which may be added a second group comprising 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī himself, his son 'Abd al-'Azīz, and his contemporaries Riẓwān Šāh and the Jalā'irid Sultan Aḥmad Bagdādī, the productive span of which covers approximately the years 1370-1470.<sup>28</sup> But for the intervening period or, more importantly, whatever time elapsed between the death of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī and the composition of NO/G, we have no composers for whom biographical information is readily available. Accordingly, it could plausibly be argued, in the absence of any positive evidence for a later date, that by analogy with Ottoman anthologies the second group should represent the near-contemporary element, that many of the unidentifiable composers should also be expected to have been active during the first half of the fifteenth century, and that NO/G could well have been compiled towards the beginning of the period postulated, belonging, therefore, to the time of Murad II.

However, the nature of the musical forms represented in NO/G suggests that such a date would be rather too early. The general relationship between the vocal forms of c. 1400 as described by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī and those occurring in the antecedent collections will be examined in 4.2. For present purposes we may take as symptomatic the fate of just one, albeit the most complex, the *nawba*. The importance 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī attaches to this four-movement suite finds little echo in Ox and S: only two complete examples are recorded in the former, and none in the latter, and apart from these, the tally of pieces identified as *nawba* movements is a mere 23.<sup>29</sup> (Many pieces are not

<sup>25</sup> NO/G preserves the later genial corruption Šūfi al-Dīn, while S and Ox refer to him as 'Abd al-Mu'min. That one person is meant is assured by the identity of pieces so ascribed: NO: 37a, for example, a setting in 'irāq ascribed to Šūfi al-Dīn, appears in both Ox (Ouseley 128: 16a) and S (65a) ascribed to 'Abd al-Mu'min. The form Šafi al-Dīn appears in none of these anthologies, but will be employed throughout in the present work.

<sup>26</sup> For biographical references on these see Neubauer 1969: 254-5. Suhrawardī was a pupil of Šafi al-Dīn, and outlived him. According to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī (Bardakçı 1986: 124) the other two were also his pupils, but the evidence does not appear conclusive.

<sup>27</sup> The first year is perhaps a little early, but there is a MS of Šafi al-Dīn's *kitāb al-adwār* (Nuruosmaniye MS 3653, fols. 1a-49a) dated 633/1235-6, and he may well have been active as performer and composer even before that.

<sup>28</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, relating an event that took place in 778/1377 (*jāmi' al-alḥān*, Bodleian MS Marsh 282, fols. 96-7) refers to Riẓwān Šāh in terms suggesting that he was a respected elder figure, so that he might well have been active somewhat before 1370. Of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Qādir (so identified only in S: elsewhere we have a bald 'Abd al-'Azīz, who may just as well be the Ustā 'Abd al-'Azīz Kirmānī of NO) we know that he survived his father by several years, although not when he died: his *naqawat al-adwār* was dedicated to Mehmed II (1451-81).

<sup>29</sup> The two complete *nawbas* are in Ouseley 128: 88b-89a (by Ḥaydar Mişri) and 101 (by Šafi al-Dīn). The remaining pieces are Ox: Ouseley 127: 19a (two pieces), 19b, 114a (two); Ouseley 128: 24b, 91a, 95a, 95b, 98b, 99b, 100a (two), 102a (three), 102b (two); S: 45a, 89b, 90a, 106b. Of these the first three, and the three in Ouseley 128: 99b-100a, are the



assigned to any specific form, but the possibility that a number of *nawbas* could have survived covertly is precluded by the failure of any of the recorded sequences of pieces by the same composer to conform to its modal and rhythmic norms.) It is evident, therefore, that the *nawba* had effectively ceased to exist by the middle of the sixteenth century at the latest. Taking into account the situation revealed by Ox and S, superficial examination would initially assign to NO/G an early date within the range postulated, for the *nawba* still figures prominently, being accorded indeed pride of place in NO at the head of the various sections within which examples occur. But the status it enjoys in NO, which to all appearances is a conservative, even archaizing document, is retrospective and factitious: in many instances the compiler was able to provide the text for a *nawba* movement, but not to give any details of the setting itself.<sup>30</sup> This is particularly the case with the second (*ġazal*) and last (*firūdāšt*) movements of the suite,<sup>31</sup> and it is clear that NO/G reflects a particular period of development during which the *nawba*, whatever prestige it might still retain among those interested in the legacy of earlier generations, was approaching total collapse and dismemberment. The only standard sequence still functioning effectively is a presumably later offshoot of it, consisting of just the first two movements, *qawl* and *ġazal* (which seems to have survived better in this environment than in its original *nawba* setting).<sup>32</sup> In NO/G the *nawba* is thus much closer, despite first appearances, to the oblivion revealed by S than to the predominance stressed by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāġi, who dwells at some length both on his own compositional feats in it and on his experimental addition to it of a fifth movement.<sup>33</sup> One will, accordingly, not wish to assign to NO/G a date as early as the mid fifteenth century: indeed, it seems unlikely that the state of obsolescence of the *nawba* there intimated could have come about much before the end of the century.

The modal and rhythmic nomenclature of NO/G is unfortunately inconclusive as a dating tool. It appears more archaic than that encountered in Ox and S, but as fewer terms are mentioned it is difficult to establish a clear case: certainly the absence from it of terms contained in the other two cannot be taken

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only ones acknowledged as forming part of a complete *nawba*, of which they constitute in each case the last three movements: the two preceding *qawls* are, however, missing.

<sup>30</sup> In G section boundaries are not so clearly defined, and there is not the same emphasis on placing examples of the *nawba* first. But the desire to record complete *nawbas*, with space being left for movements unknown to the compiler (and which he would be unable to track down), is equally evident.

<sup>31</sup> Of the twelve *nawbas* recorded in NO/G, seven are incomplete: four do not supply a setting for the *ġazal*, four the *firūdāšt*.

<sup>32</sup> The *tarāna*, on the other hand, which is better represented in the NO *nawbas*, seems thereafter to have disappeared completely as a separate form. The sections of NO not containing a *nawba* normally begin with such *qawl* + *ġazal* pairs, which in some cases may be viewed as the remnant of a previously complete *nawba*, but in others do appear to be a substitute form. This pairing (also frequent in G) is again obsolete in Ox and S, which exhibit just one specimen each.

<sup>33</sup> *jāmi' al-alḥān*, Bodleian MS Marsh 282, fols. 96-7 (full details in Bardakçı: 1986: 25-7).

as decisive. (G contains a wider range of names of modes than NO, but not of rhythmic cycles, and is no more helpful.) Nevertheless, NO/G does exhibit a number of terms that the other two lack, and we may consider here as potentially indicative the fact that of the 18 names of rhythmic cycles it contains at least five (and possibly six) are absent from Ox and S,<sup>34</sup> which suggests that it is unlikely to be very close to them in time. Unfortunately, however, all save one also appear to be absent from the theoretical literature of the fifteenth century,<sup>35</sup> and firm conclusions are therefore difficult to draw, especially as the possibility of regional variation in the structure and/or nomenclature of certain rhythmic cycles cannot be discounted as a contributory factor.<sup>36</sup> At best, therefore, we may conclude that NO/G represents the vocal repertoire of the second half (and probably the last quarter) of the fifteenth century, Ox that of c. 1550, and S that of c. 1570, the circa in each case representing up to  $\pm 20$ . But if it is impossible that NO/G could be as late as Murad III, it equally appears, according to the above arguments, to be somewhat, and perhaps considerably, later than Murad II, who must be the sultan in question. Reference to him, although the obvious starting point for an attempt to arrive at a more precise dating, is not, however, decisive - it could, indeed, be misleading: most eulogistic songs doubtless disappeared along with the patron addressed, but the presence in Ox of poems in praise of both Süleyman and Bayezid II shows that the repertoire could certainly include songs invoking illustrious ancestors.

### 1.3.2. Spatial

If Ox and S are fairly close together in time, one might reasonably expect to find a considerable overlap in their contents or, if not, to conclude that they represent

<sup>34</sup> Four names are quite clear and straightforward: *far'-i far'*, *far'-i muḥammad*, *far'-i turk darb* and *niṣf-i muḥammad*. In addition to these, we encounter two other forms, *farrah darb* and *farah darb* which, despite their explicit vowelling, probably represent one rather than two separate cycles (they are never differentiated in the - admittedly few - internal cycle-change sequences noted in NO/G). Both forms are perfectly acceptable linguistically, and the use of the former in what follows is an arbitrary choice. Dānīṣpāzūh (1970 (MS 31)) gives a list of rhythmic cycles from a text tentatively ascribed to the sixteenth century containing a *dawr al-faraj* (with *kabr/ṣaḡir* variants) which, despite also being linguistically acceptable, could be a misreading for *farah/farruh*. There is also (NO: 134a) an instance of what appears to be *fī* (*ʔfaḥḥ*) *darb*, but although the MS is carefully written and the shape quite clear, it is difficult not to regard *fī* as a *lapsus* for *fī*.

<sup>35</sup> Not only are they not mentioned by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi, but they are also absent from treatises of the mid fifteenth (e.g. the *edvār* of Hızır b. 'Abdullāh, the *majalla fi al-musiqt* of Faḥ Allāh al-Širwāni) and late fifteenth century (the *risāla al-faḥiyya* of al-Lādiqi) which do contain some of the new terms in Ox and S.

<sup>36</sup> Differences in this field between Arab and non-Arab (i.e. principally Persian) practice are noted in the first Systematist treatise, Šafi al-Dīn's *kitāb al-adwār*, and in several later ones also. How significant these were is difficult to establish, but in general it can be assumed that by the late fifteenth century most major cycles would have had currency throughout the whole culture area, while some lesser-known ones may have been special to particular regions.

distinct local repertoires. Because of lack of uniformity in the way names are recorded the number of composers in each cannot be defined precisely, but is approximately 55 in Ox and 40 in S.<sup>37</sup> Of these, some 20 are common to both, but as they include the best represented composers the number of pieces involved constitutes a very high proportion of the total: no less than 191 of the 223 pieces by named composers in S, with the equivalent figure for Ox, if we ignore the two categories not represented in S, being 421 out of 486, i.e. approximately six-sevenths in both. To judge by the information provided by the headings (specifying composer, mode, and rhythmic cycle) and the identity of the language set, a considerable proportion of the 191 in S is likely to be common to both. A survey of the pieces attributed to Amir/Mirza Ġazanfar,<sup>38</sup> for example, shows that for 30 of the 37 in S there are matching headings in Ox, and further examination establishes identity of text and setting in 25 of them.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, among the 47 pieces attributed to 'Alī Sitā'i in S, fully matching headings appear in Ox for 23, of which 21 prove on further examination to be identical settings.<sup>40</sup> To these may be added a further four pieces where identity is masked by their being assigned to different modes in Ox.<sup>41</sup> We thus find that of the 84 pieces by these two composers in S no fewer than 50 are also contained in Ox. Such direct comparison of text and setting is required in order to confirm that matching headings do indeed relate to the same piece, but the general presumption in favour of identity in the majority of cases that the above figures yield is reinforced not only by the extra evidence that is occasionally available,<sup>42</sup> but also by a survey of composers represented by just one or two pieces each: it can hardly be coincidence, for example, that the one piece by Aṣma'i in S should be in the

<sup>37</sup> S, for example, has pieces ascribed to Najm al-Dīn and Najm al-Dīn Daṣṭī. The numbers given assume that in such cases one person is meant, but it is possible that this assumption is not always correct and, consequently, that the true figures could be somewhat higher.

<sup>38</sup> Amir Ġazanfar in S (or just Ġazanfar), Mīrzā Ġazanfar in Ox (which also contains pieces attributed simply to Mīrzā). In NO/G the only form given is Qazanfar.

<sup>39</sup> The possibility of an even higher total cannot be excluded without exhaustive comparison of the complete contents of both collections: the same piece might be assigned, say, to different rhythmic cycles, or be thought to be by different composers, so that the headings no longer match. Such differences in attribution are certainly to be found: the first piece in S, for example, stated to be by Šams-i Rūmī, is in Ox (Ouseley 128: 81b) by Šafī al-Dīn.

The 25 common pieces by Ġazanfar appear in Ox Ouseley 127: 4b, 10a, 28a, 33b, 47a, 52a, 56a, 70a, 70b, 71a, 71b, 83b, 95b, 97a (two), 100b, 101b, and 102a (two), and Ouseley 128: 15a, 22b, 88a, 90a, 91a, and 103a.

<sup>40</sup> These appear in Ox Ouseley 127: 1b, 2a, 3a, 3b, 5a, 26b (two), 67b (two), 68b (two), 69a, 70a, 72a, 101a, 110a, and Ouseley 128: 12a, 14b, 19b, 86b, 87a.

<sup>41</sup> Ouseley 127: 21a, 41a, 68b and 128: 1b.

<sup>42</sup> An obvious example is provided by a set of seven pieces by Šafī al-Dīn the modes of which are exceptionally identified in two ways: but their headings still match exactly in both collections (S: 8a-14a; Ox Ouseley 128: 82b-84b). Elsewhere one might find identity of heading reinforced, say, by a title or some further specification, as with a piece by 'Abd al-Qādir in 'uzzāl/īqīl (S: 106b; Ox Ouseley 128: 98b) which both designate *qawl-i muraṣṣa*.

same mode and rhythmic cycle and be a setting of a text in the same less common language as the one piece by him in Ox.<sup>43</sup> A crude (and at the same time distinctly conservative) estimate would therefore be that of the 191 pieces in S by the composers common to both not less than half are also to be found in Ox. Since these collections can have had no pretensions to encompassing all the songs current at a given time, such a high level of shared material is much more significant than whatever differences there may be, and certainly accords reasonably well with the close temporal spacing proposed for them above. It suggests that they embody overlapping segments of what is essentially the same repertoire, and that in consequence they may be assumed to relate to the same geographical area.

By the same logic, one might argue that if NO/G also belonged to this tradition it, too, should contain a significant, if lesser, amount of common material. Unfortunately, there are too many imponderables to make any reliable estimates of the proportion one might expect to have survived, especially when the intervening period could conceivably correspond to only two generations in a chain of oral transmission, but more probably corresponded to at least three or four. Comparison with later Ottoman collections could point, as a very rough guide, to a rate of change resulting in two collections of similar dimensions some fifty years apart having an overlap of approximately a third of the total,<sup>44</sup> on which basis one would predict, in the present case, a considerably lower proportion, possibly something in the region of a sixth. The simplest comparison to make is that between NO and S, which are similar in size: 261 complete settings in NO (counting each *nawba* movement separately) to 233 in S, suggesting, initially, the possibility of some 40 pieces in common. But the appearance of comparability is illusory, for NO is in one crucial respect highly selective: only 12 modes are represented in it, and the number of pieces in these

<sup>43</sup> S: 33a, Ox Ouseley 127: 111a. Here again, direct comparison provides explicit confirmation that this is indeed the same piece. With some composers, however, there is little overlap: thus both Ox and S contain four pieces by Junayd Minqār, but among these there is only one potential match.

<sup>44</sup> The most obvious problem being that, at least in the present state of research, the great majority of Ottoman anthologies are as difficult to date as those of the antecedent tradition. But if we take HP to be representative of the repertoire of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, we may at least experiment and compare with it, say, British Library MS Or. 7059, a collection of roughly similar dimensions which contains pieces by Es'ad Efendi (d. 1753) but is otherwise distinguished by a concentration of seventeenth-century composers (and a corresponding absence of later ones) and is thus most likely to have been compiled by 1750 at the latest, and probably somewhat before. Taking the incidence of *kārs* in three modes ('*acem*, '*segdh*' and '*irāk*') and of pieces with Turkish texts not assigned to any form in HP but termed '*rubā'iyyat*' in Or. 7059 in two modes ('*acem*' and '*segdh*'), we find that of the 14 of the former in HP no less than 11 are preserved in Or. 7059, while of the 48 of the latter only nine survive, that is, a third overall, but with markedly (and interestingly) different rates in the two categories. It is clear, however, that many further such comparisons would need to be made between collections datable with greater precision, and using much larger samples, before any sound conclusions could be arrived at with regard to rates of change, and even then there is no guarantee that what is valid for one period would also be valid for another.

contained in S is a mere 89, from which total one might therefore predict that no more than 15 would be found in NO. But there is a further major difference: as pointed out above, NO gives prominence to a form that had effectively ceased to exist by the time Ox and S were compiled: *nawba* movements make up 39% of NO, but a mere 4% of Ox and well under 2% of S. NO records the final stage of a repertoire much of which was about to disappear as a major change in formal preferences made itself felt, thus reducing expectations of survival even further. Accordingly, the suggested 15 would probably need to be halved, so that the number of pieces one could reasonably expect to find in all three collections comes down well into single figures. But given the highly conjectural nature of such reasoning, the fact that just five songs are readily identifiable as common to all three, with a further one common to NO and S (and another three common to G and Ox),<sup>45</sup> is not necessarily to be interpreted as of crucial significance when attempting to determine the temporal or spatial gap between them.

Indeed, because of the clear historical shift in the hierarchy of forms, we may wish to attach importance less to the absolute number of pieces that appear to have survived than to the fact that some of the composers in NO/G reappear in the later collections, especially when we look forward a century beyond S to HP and discover a radical discontinuity in the producers as well as the product. Of a total of almost 50 composers in NO/G perhaps eight are represented in Ox and S,<sup>46</sup> and of particular interest is the fact that five of them clearly predate NO/G by a considerable period. Whatever the authenticity or otherwise of the pieces attributed to them, they must have been perceived as constituting a core set of highly respected ancient composers whose reputations were maintained not only to the end of the fifteenth century, but well into the sixteenth, to the extent that the compositions to which their names are attached constitute no less than 49% of the total in Ox for the categories common to Ox and S, and 42% of the total contents of S. But how relevant the high level of their contribution (and the correspondingly low average level of that of later composers) might be for the relationship between the three antecedent collections is by no means clear. One might think, for example, of a 'classical' repertoire, extending from Šafī al-Dīn to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, being preserved not uniformly but selectively according to area, with local composers providing the remainder of the material, which would therefore tend to be specific to a given anthology. Such would accord well enough with the pattern of distribution found in Ottoman anthologies

<sup>45</sup> Two of the five are attributed to Šafī al-Dīn (NO: 37a, Ox Ouseley 128: 16a, S: 65a; NO: 92a, Ox Ouseley 128: 82b, S: 8a), one to both 'Abd al-Qādir (al-Marāḡī) (NO: 3a) and 'Alī Sītā'i (Ox Ouseley 128: 14b and 86b, S: 89b) and the other two to 'Alī Sītā'i (NO: 160a, Ox Ouseley 128: 19b, S: 73b; G: 228a, Ox Ouseley 127: 67b, S: 21b). Of the three common to G and Ox (G: 64b, Ouseley 127: 86b; G: 167a, Ouseley 128: 94b; G: 246a, Ouseley 127: 6a) two are also attributed to 'Alī Sītā'i. The piece common to NO and S is attributed to Sulṭān Aḥmad in NO (83a) but to Rizwān Šāh in S (127b).

<sup>46</sup> Seven are certain, the eighth less so, since it depends on the questionable identification of Šafā in NO/G with Šayḥ Šafā-yi Samarqandī in Ox and S.

(albeit with a different numerical balance) where the established classics are supplemented by contemporary works, a few of which will in their turn become classics while the remainder will soon fall by the wayside. One would then suppose that the less well represented figures appearing in just one collection were in the main musicians of lesser talent who enjoyed but brief and local fame, their works being speedily forgotten as a new generation of composers emerged to supplant them. Given that the pattern of change observed later is clearly situated within a fairly restricted geographical area, it is questionable whether regional differentiation need necessarily be invoked as an explanatory factor; but although the replacement of the works of one generation by those of the next within a single regional tradition would certainly be sufficient to account for the lack of overlap in the lesser figures, it should at the same time be conceded that analogy with the Ottoman evidence would predict a slightly higher rate of survival from NO/G to Ox and S, if they were similarly from a single region, of works by the core early composers, these being the equivalent, in status, of the durable Ottoman *kârs*.<sup>47</sup>

At the same time, even if it is presumed that the repertoires represented in NO/G on the one hand, and in Ox and S on the other, could have been specific to different localities, it has to be conceded, to judge by the names of several of the composers, that the talent producing them was not. Where available, the most significant locational indicator in the name is the *nisba*, which refers to a city or province. It does not, admittedly, demonstrate that the cultural formation of the bearer was completed in the place referred to, still less that he was active there as a composer - it generally designates, after all, not where one is, but whence one came<sup>48</sup> - but when *nisbas* exist in sufficient numbers they can reasonably be held, considered in conjunction with other evidence, to indicate a trend, in this case the drawing of artistic resources from a wide geographical area.<sup>49</sup> Particularly striking, indeed, is the contrast in this respect between the antecedent tradition and the Ottoman one represented by HP. The latter contains few *nisbas* itself, but some of its composers have clearly Turkish names, such as Sütçüzâde, and for him and several others biographical information is available.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> It should also be borne in mind, in what must remain a largely conjectural assessment of relationships, that other, unknown, factors may have been at work. It is feasible, for example, that the formation of the 'classical' repertoire took place during a period when the prescriptive content of modal structure was relatively low, thus privileging individual creativity at the level of composition, and that at a later stage greater importance was accorded to mastery of an extensive existing repertoire than to creativity in adding to it, thereby reducing the likelihood of new composers establishing equally strong individual profiles.

<sup>48</sup> But not always: Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (originally from Balkh) is one obvious exception. See EI<sup>2</sup> s.v. *ism*.

<sup>49</sup> Should the *nisbas* in fact indicate location rather than origin they would if anything strengthen the argument against specific local repertoires, for they would suggest even more clearly the extent of the area within which the same musical idiom was valid.

<sup>50</sup> Principally in Es'ad Efendi, *aṭṭab ul-ḡār*.

so that considered together with the name range provided by 'Alī Ufkī and Cantemir, it is incontestable that the Ottoman repertoire contained in HP relates in the first place very specifically to a cultural area centred on Istanbul, and including major cities such as Edirne, Salonica, and Bursa, but probably also penetrating eastwards into Anatolia as far as Diyarbakır, from which a number of its composers came. The composers who figure in the antecedent collections, in contrast, seem to hail from much more diverse locations, and the earlier ones clearly represent the wider span of the broad Middle-Eastern tradition mentioned above. How far this spread to the west is suggested by the presence of musicians with Egyptian *nisbas* (Mişrī, Dumyāṭī, Iskandarānī); its central region may be represented by Şafī al-Dīn, most of whose active career is known to have been spent in Baghdad; and its eastern extent may be readily illustrated by what we know of the life of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī: of Azerbaijani origin, he stayed for lengthy periods in Tabriz (relatively close to his birth-place, Maragha), went to Ardabil and Baghdad, and later ranged as far afield as Samarkand and finally Herat, where he died.<sup>51</sup>

General information on the origins of musicians and places where they are known to have been active is summarized in Figs. 1 and 2 over. The evidence there displayed is persuasive, but ultimately inconclusive: it does not oblige us to choose between the possibilities that the Ottoman and the antecedent anthologies might, on the one hand, relate to discrete successive periods in the development of the same tradition during which, in the search for patronage, the artistic centre of gravity followed shifts in dynastic fortunes, or, on the other, might simply represent different regional traditions having little in common, and standing essentially, despite the chronological gap, in a lateral rather than a linear relationship to each other.

#### 1.4. Tradition

It will not have escaped notice that some of the arguments put forward for successive reductions in the period to which NO/G and S may most plausibly be assigned are of an essentially negative nature, stressing difference and thence distance from known poles. Equally, they have relied on the tacit assumption of a unitary tradition passing from 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī through all the antecedent collections to a clearly Ottoman form, with Istanbul as its principal centre, first documented in the latter half of the seventeenth century by 'Alī Ufkī and HP. However, from the evidence adduced above it appears that such was not necessarily the case: if the Ottoman tradition is undoubtedly in some sense a

<sup>51</sup> Bardakçı (1986: 43-6) argues, despite the existence of copies of his works dedicated to Murad II, against the generally held assumption (see e.g. EI<sup>1</sup> supp. s.v. 'Abd al-Qādir) that he also visited Bursa.

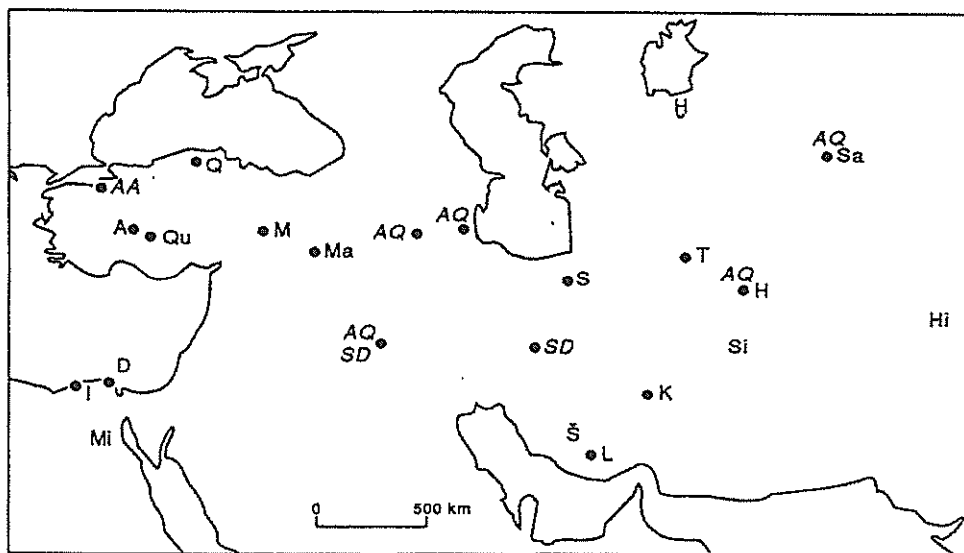


Figure 1: the antecedent collections

AQ = 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi

SD = Šafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī

AA = 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Qādir, at one stage in Bursa

*nisbas* and other indications of possible origin are referred to as follows:

A = Aqšahrī; D = Dumyāfi; H = Harawī; Ĥ = Ĥw'arazmī; Hi = Hindī;  
I = Iskandarāni; K = Kirmāni; L = Lāri; M = Malāṭya; Ma = Mardīni; Mi  
= Mišrī; Q = Qaṣāmūni; Qu = Qūnawī; S = Samnāni; Sa = Samarkand;  
Si = Sistāni; Š = Šabānkāri;<sup>52</sup> T = Tūsi.

descendant of that represented by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi, it does not follow that the repertoires contained in NO/G, Ox, and S must have stood in a direct, unbroken line of succession to each other, still less that that direct line continues on to HP: discontinuity of repertoire seems rather to have been the norm. But

<sup>52</sup> The *nisba* of a modal variant.



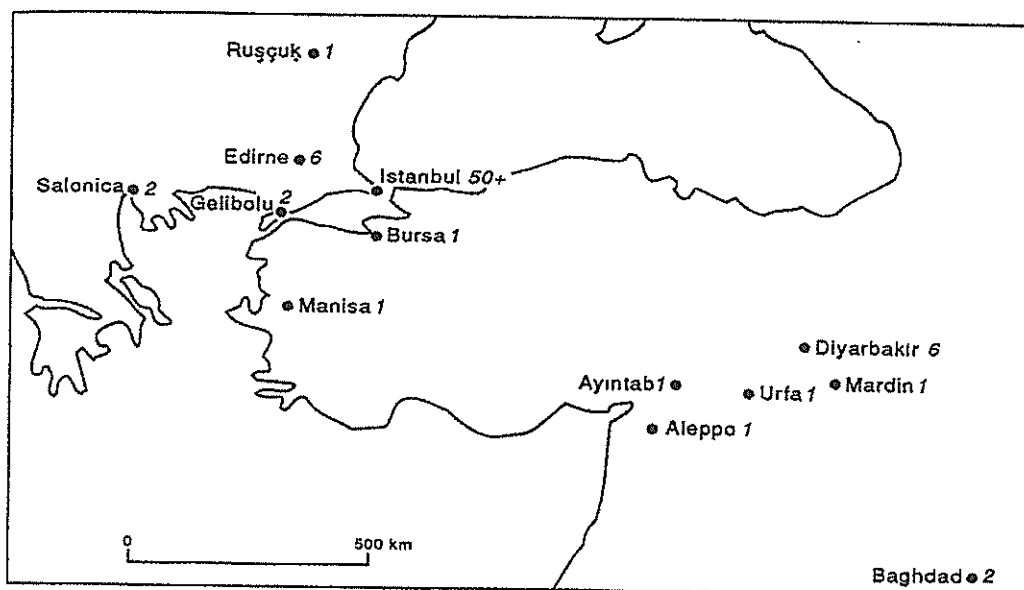


Figure 2: HP

(The number alongside each place-name indicates the number of musicians born there according to Es'ad Efendi. He also mentions one from Tripoli (but which?), one from the *mağrib*, and one from Anatolia, without further specification. HP also has one *Ḥurāsānī*.)

it has been suggested that a considerable measure of discontinuity is readily explicable as a result of oral transmission<sup>53</sup> and, indeed, that it conforms to later patterns observable within the Ottoman tradition, so that more attention might justifiably be paid to other factors, and in particular to the undoubted Ottoman connexions exhibited by *Ox*, which contains, as has been seen, not only song texts in praise of Ottoman sultans but also a substantial number of pieces in a particular form the texts of which are in Turkish. Further, we may be reasonably sure that its compiler was a native speaker of Turkish, for although the headings for each setting are couched in Persian, it is Turkish that is employed for the informal marginal notes that are occasionally added.

<sup>53</sup> See on this general topic e.g. Goody and Watt 1968.

The evidence for NO/G and S is not quite so straightforward, but occasional Ottoman references can still be detected: some of the *nisbas* cited above, for example, provide links with areas in the Ottoman orbit; and as quite explicit indications we may recall the inclusion in NO/G of settings of verse in praise of Sultan Murad (II), to which may be added the definition of one of the composers in the same collection as *nadīm-i sulṭān murād*.<sup>54</sup> There are, in addition, features, especially of orthography, that again suggest that both compilers were native speakers of Turkish.<sup>55</sup> Particularly indicative is a degree of indifference towards vowel length: NO, for example, in the name 'Uṣmān A'raj, writes 'r'j, while S produces the eccentric form *msf(!)h'b* for *mustaḥabb*,<sup>56</sup> and in general the orthography of the Persian verse reveals a typically cavalier attitude to the *izāfa*.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the compilers, we may also, to judge by their names, find a Turkish presence among the composers: in NO/G we encounter Bāyazīd Kulāhdūz and Satılnuṣ Ağā; in S, Öksüz 'Alī and Şalgūr Şāh; and in Ox, Bāyazīd Aqşahrū and Sayyidi 'Alī Čalabī.

However, given that NO/G contains only one Turkish setting and S none, it might well be presumed, especially when contrasted with HP, that in so far as they might represent a local repertoire the cultural area to which this related was situated to the east of the Ottoman empire, perhaps in Azerbaijan or Persia. But language is not a wholly sufficient criterion, for Persian continued to be a major means of cultural expression at the Ottoman court well into the sixteenth century. Sultan Süleyman himself composed verse in Persian as well as Turkish, and the 'classic' status of Şafī al-Dīn and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāġī could readily have ensured the survival for some considerable time in an Ottoman environment not only of pieces with Persian texts but also of others with Arabic texts (a language virtually absent from HP, and which where it does occur is signalled as special). If Ox, for example, is judged to be a mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman document, it could readily be viewed as reflecting the continuing literary status of Persian (and to a lesser extent Arabic), while at the same time indicating through the presence of a block of Turkish texts the increasing importance of that language. Further, if the absence of overlap between the contents of some of the antecedent collections is not a critical determinant of the relationship between them, then by the same token the discontinuity between the antecedent collections and HP should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the former must have related essentially to a different and separate cultural area. They might

<sup>54</sup> A certain Hājī 'Alī.

<sup>55</sup> Speaking of NO, and considering also the hand, a *naṣḥ* of Turkish style, Dānīṣpāzūh (1977: 14) is in little doubt on this score, describing it as *gūyā az nawīṣanda-i turk-i zabān ki fārsī namīdānasta ast*, i.e. probably written by a native speaker of Turkish ignorant of Persian.

<sup>56</sup> One may further note the variations in vowel length in the name ('Alī) Sītā'i, which is given both as *st'y* and as *sy't'y*.

<sup>57</sup> E.g. in the verse quoted in note 23 *māh-i sar-i* is written *m'h sry*.

certainly embody a largely non-Ottoman tradition in the sense that they were not territorially localized within the Ottoman dominions, but the occasional genuflections to Ottoman power found in NO/G and Ox, even if explicable as no more than a prudent move in the quest for further sources of patronage on the part of musicians generally based elsewhere, do indicate that at least part of this corpus must at one stage have been available in Ottoman circles.<sup>58</sup> But one may reasonably go further and surmise that the whole repertoire was so available, indeed that it was the only one; in other words that even if the antecedent tradition may have had - and very probably did have - wider geographical application, consonant both with what we know of the broader validity of the earlier Middle-Eastern art-music tradition and with the internal evidence suggested by the diverse origins of the composers, it is from collections such as Ox that the vocal repertoire performed at the Ottoman court at the time of Sultan Süleyman was drawn.

If this interpretation is accepted, it follows that Ox and the other antecedent collections could justifiably be termed Ottoman too. Here, however, the label antecedent will be retained, not in order to deny in any way the possible Ottoman dimension, but for the sake of clarity, to maintain a distinction between two groups of texts which are in significant respects markedly different. The term Ottoman, with its monolithic implications, might in any case be less than helpful: just as the Ulu Cami in Bursa and the Selimiye in Edirne are both chronologically Ottoman, but inhabit different architectural worlds, so too the contrasting contents of the earlier and later anthologies point up the potential inappositeness of a dynastic or political vocabulary for the classification of artistic phenomena.

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<sup>58</sup> Several musicians also no doubt entered the service of the Ottoman court on a less than voluntary basis. Uzunçarşılı (1977: 81-4) provides information on such imports during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, mostly from Azerbaijan and Persia. The following (pp. 84-6) pay list of musicians under Süleyman contains none of the names in the antecedent collections, but not much importance need be attached to this: the majority of the composers represented in the anthologies were by then long dead, and the majority of the musicians listed were instrumentalists and not very likely also to be prolific composers of vocal pieces.

The general poverty of information on Ottoman music in the sixteenth century may be gauged from, say, the account in Öztuna 1987: 81-2. The bald assertion of Reinhard (1984: 26) that the sixteenth century was 'keineswegs mit einem blühenden Musikleben gesegnet' is to be seen essentially as a reflection of this lack of source material rather than as a considered judgement. But although so little is known of this period that no firm conclusions can be drawn, it is tempting, in the light of the imports noted by Uzunçarşılı, to suspect a possible musical parallel to developments in art, where (Grube 1969) Timurid styles evolving in fifteenth-century Herat moved westwards to Tabriz and thence, encouraged by Ottoman invasion and capture, to Istanbul. (See also chapter 2, note 170.) Caution is nevertheless required: of particular significance may be urged the fact that, with the single exception of Binā'i, none of the musicians noted as prominent at the late fifteenth-century Timurid court (Leyden and Erskine 1826: 194-5, 197-8; Subtely 1984: 145) appear as composers in the collections of the antecedent tradition.

نَزْدَنِي لَوْلَ أَخْرَجَ قَصْدَ كُشَيْنَ وَنَسَاءَ كَرْدَه نَوْمَ  
 قَوْلَ دَلِ جَرِ سَاخَنَه لَسْتُ دَرِ مَقَامِ كَوِجَلِ  
 نِيمِ الْحَبِيبِ نَزْدَجَا جَالِه وَغَدَا لَوْنَانُ مَبْشَرِ بَوَصَالِه  
 نَسِيمِ لَوْلَ وَدَرِ دُولَتِه وَشَ ٥

نَسِيمِ لَوْلَ كَاكُلِ حَبِيبِ نَسَاكُ مَكْرَجَا لَوْنِ جَاكَا  
 كَاكَا لِهَيْبِكِ اَمَا اَمَارِ بِيَكِي جَاءَ كَا نَاكُنْ نَوْمَ تَلَتِ تَلَتِ  
 لِسْتَنِ دَرِ تَنِ دِيرِ تَنِ تَرَه تَلِ لِسْتَنِ دَرِ تَنِ نَاءَ لِهْ لِي دَرِ  
 دَرِ نَاءَ لَانِ دَرِ تَنِ تَرَه تَلِ لِسْتَنِ دَرِ نَاءَ دَرِ نَادِ نَاءَ دَرِ خَرِ نَاءَ  
 دَرِ تَنِ دَرِ دَرِ لِسْتَنِ كِي تَلِ لَانِ لَانِ دِيرِ نَسَايِ تَلِ  
 تَلِ لَانِ كَا دَرِ لِهْ دِيرِ تَنِ سَدِ بِنِ تَالِ تَلِ تَلِ لَانِ تَلِ لَانِ  
 دِيرِ نَاءَ لِي ٢ جَاكَا كَا لِهَيْبِكِ اَمَا اَمَارِ بِيَكِي جَاءَ كَا نَاكُنْ  
 لَوْلَ وَغَدَا لَوْنَانُ بَارِ كُسْتُ دِرَه شَهْ دَرِ دَرِ تَا لَالِي تَنِ  
 دَرِ تَنِ تَرَه تَلِ لِسْتَنِ دَرِ نَاءَ دَرِ تَنِ شَهْ دَرِ دَرِ تَا لَالِي تَنِ دَرِ تَنِ  
 تَرَه تَلِ لِسْتَنِ دَرِ تَنِ دَرِ تَنِ تَنِ دَرِ تَنِ دِيرِ نَادِ تَنِ تَنِ  
 لَسْتَنِ كِي تَالَا لَالِي تَنِ تَنِ تَنِ تَلِ لَانِ تَالَا لَالِي  
 لَالِي تَنِ تَنِ تَنِ تَلِ لَانِ لَالِي دَرِ نَادِ نَاءَ تَنِ دَرِ نَاءَ دَرِ تَلِ

## 2. The antecedent collections.

### 2.1. Format and contents

#### 2.1.1. NO

Unlike the two volumes of Ox, which contain arbitrarily divided parts of the same collection that could just as readily have been bound together, the two parts, or rather overlapping layers, of NO/G are distinct entities the contents of which need to be described separately.

NO is rather larger in physical dimensions than most later collections, measuring 275x179, 200x120 mm., and containing 177 (text-bearing) folios (plus a considerable number of blank pages).<sup>1</sup> Each full page has 17 lines of text written in a bold clear *nash* with a number of individual features.<sup>2</sup> The text is fully pointed and - of particular importance in trying to provide a tolerably accurate transcription of the extensive nonsense-syllable material - nearly completely vocalized. The headings for each piece, and the technical terms and punctuation symbols that indicate the various internal sections and subsections, are in red.

In its general organization NO is similar to most Ottoman *mecmuas*: the single most important formal feature is the ordering of entries according to mode, space being allotted to each one in advance. But contrary to the norms of later anthologies, in which one can frequently distinguish successive additional layers, sections being gradually filled in as further examples are remembered, obtained from other sources, or added by successive owners, the consistency of both handwriting and ink suggests in the case of NO that the bulk of what there is was collected in advance and entered, lacunae notwithstanding, during a relatively short period.

The method of compilation by pre-assigned mode divisions explains the blank pages at the end of sections. Further blank pages within sections frequently result from the verse text of a song being known and entered with

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<sup>1</sup> Other technical features are summarized thus on the Nuruosmaniye catalogue card: '*İam meşin, zemseli, cedvelli, müklepli, şirazeli*'.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly striking are the regular use in initial position of the medial *h* form of *h*, and a high and distinctly angled lead into joined *r*: *ر*; neither here nor when initial is *r* always easily distinguishable from *d*. Initial *k* also sometimes appears as *ک*.

materialize. It must be admitted, however, that not all the internal blanks can be accounted for in this way; nor does the general format of the collection account either for the 11 blank pages preceding the text (the *vakīf* statement is stuck on to the last of these) or for the 52 blank pages that follow it, although one could surmise that the beginning pages were reserved for the eventual composition of an introduction which could have consisted of a brief theoretical treatise (no doubt with a cosmological emphasis) or a verse display piece introducing the mode names. (A further, if less likely, possibility, is that a dedicatory preface was to have been inserted: but if so, NO would be the only known example of a song-text collection compiled as a presentation volume.)

The folio numbers take no account of many of the blank pages. More informative, therefore, is the following table, which gives (1) the number of pages allocated to each mode, (2) the number actually used;<sup>3</sup> and (3) the number of pieces entered (with, in brackets after, the number consisting of the verse text only, i.e. for which there are no details of the setting):

	1	2	3	
<i>rāst</i>	81	50	46	(8) <sup>4</sup>
<i>ʿirāq</i>	56	34	34	(2)
<i>isfahān</i>	44	28	23	
<i>kūčak</i>	34	21	21	
<i>buzurg</i>	38	20	19	
<i>zangūla</i>	36	19	19	
<i>rahāwī</i>	11	3	2	
<i>husaynī</i>	65	53	48	(1)
<i>hijāz</i>	42	24	21	
<i>būsālīk</i>	43	21	18	
<i>nawā</i>	14	8	6	
<i>ʿuṣṣāq</i>	26 <sup>5</sup>	17	<u>16</u>	<u>(1)</u>
			273	(12)

Table 1

<sup>3</sup> Even if for only a single line. The picture given is thus inexact, since many pages are not full. But assuming that the distribution of full versus not full pages does not vary significantly from one mode block to another, the size relationship between them will still be conveyed reasonably accurately.

<sup>4</sup> Including one for which one line of setting is supplied covering merely a brief introduction before the missing setting of the text proper.

<sup>5</sup> This figure does not include any of the following blank pages. There is no means of telling where any further material in another mode to be added in the empty area after *ʿuṣṣāq* might have started, and therefore no means of determining how many further pages might have belonged to the *ʿuṣṣāq* allocation. But by comparison an entry of 30 rather than 26 might be fair.

We thus have a total of 261 actual settings (virtually all of which are complete). If the original allocation of space was made instinctively it will be seen that the proportions are on the whole fairly accurate, there being in most cases approximately twice as many pages as pieces, but with a slight underestimate for *husaynī* and a distinct overestimate for *rahāwī*.

Within each section the distribution of material again resembles that of many of the Ottoman *mecmuas* in that the broad principle of organization is to place first the (presumably most prestigious) longer compositions by the most ancient (and presumably most highly revered) composers. In this particular case the prestigious ancient form is the *nawba* suite with its four movements in the standard sequence *qawl*, *ġazal*, *tarāna*, and *firūdāst*. A fifth movement, *mustazād*, appears only in the *nawbas* of its innovator, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāġī: it clearly failed to gain general acceptance.<sup>6</sup> The figures in brackets might be interpreted as suggesting that the compiler's zeal for tracking down obscure parts of the repertoire waned after drawing a blank in a number of cases in the first section or, more precisely, that the attempt to supply each section if at all possible with one or more *nawbas* was abandoned after it had led to the over-optimistic inclusion of some which had already disintegrated, so that in the event only one or two of the movements could be given in full. The very first entry in the collection, for example, is a *nawba* by Suhrawardī for the *firūdāst* of which only the verse is supplied, while for the *ġazal* even that had been forgotten, there remaining merely an anticipatory blank space. The second, likewise, is a *nawba* by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāġī for three of the five movements of which nothing more than the verse appears. In effect, *nawbas* (complete or not) occur in only five modes (*rāst*, *irāq*, *kūčak*, *zangūla*, *husaynī*), but are in each case placed first, and are followed by further individual or paired *nawba* movements, although in *rāst* these extra movements are preceded by a single example of a further complex and extensive form, the *kulliyāt*, which passes through a large number of modes and rhythmic cycles.<sup>7</sup> With the sole exception of *nawā*, the entries for which are all of the 'amal category, the remaining mode blocks begin either with a *qawl* + *ġazal* pair (*isfahān*, *uššāq*), a *qawl* followed by a space, presumably for a *ġazal* that failed to materialize (*buzurg*, *hijāz*), or just a *qawl* (*rahāwī*, *būsallik*). These are then again followed by other individual or paired *nawba* movements.

<sup>6</sup> The number of *nawbas* that contain a *mustazād* movement is no more than three, and in one of these the setting is missing. Two of them (fols. 3a-6b, 103a-4b) are ascribed explicitly to 'Abd al-Qādir, the third (fols. 68b-70a) to Ḥ'āja, by which term 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāġī is often meant (indeed, the *mustazād* of the *nawba* on fols. 3a-6b is headed *mustazād-i Ḥ'āja*), and there seems little doubt that such is the case here.

<sup>7</sup> In this case no less than 42 modes and 25 rhythmic cycles, according to the heading. But, as with many of the *nawba* movements, there are no details of the setting, only the seven-line text being given: the piece must again have been known to the compiler by reputation, but could not be tracked down.

The remaining material consists of pieces with the heading *ṣār<sup>8</sup> darb* (15 in all, there being none in *isfahān*, *buzurg*, and *nawā*) and, finally, except in *rahāwī*, which has none, of a considerable number of pieces with the heading '*amal*', ranging from five in '*uṣṣāq*' to as many as 25 in *ḥusaynī*, the total number being 144, more than half the whole collection.

Consideration of the range of modes exemplified in NO is sufficient to show that it is not, as HP, Ox, and S appear to be (despite the natural bias in HP towards the songs of the composer-compiler), a reasonably comprehensive record of at least the best-known pieces of the current repertoire, but rather a severely limited selection. The twelve modes listed above are the *ṣudūd* set given pride of place in the treatises of Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1294) and considered fundamental by all major theorists of the next two centuries.<sup>9</sup> But although Ṣafī al-Dīn himself lists a number of other modes, in particular the *āwāz* group, a set of six usually accorded some significance in the theoretical literature and often related to the set of twelve,<sup>10</sup> none of them is exemplified in NO.<sup>11</sup> By the time of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī the number of modes recorded had increased considerably and, as the evidence of G confirms, some of those outside the *ṣudūd* set had become more important - in the specific sense that they occurred more frequently - than some of those within it. In a work that post-dates 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī restriction of the pieces selected to those in the *ṣudūd* modes may accordingly be thought of as a deliberate archaism or, perhaps more precisely, as resulting from a conscious decision not to record the wider repertoire found in G but rather to concentrate only on pieces representative of those modes that, whatever the relative incidence of their utilization in current practice, were still thought to constitute, for a complex of historical, theoretical, and cosmological reasons, the essential nucleus of the system as a whole. (It follows that the likelihood of finding a predominance of contemporary material is in theory diminished, making the collection more difficult to date.)

That is, however, to accept that NO is complete as it stands. But if it is reasonable to think that the 52 blank pages at the end could have been meant for a later extension of the collection, the most likely candidates for inclusion are the six *āwāzes* which, given their almost equally venerable status, would

<sup>8</sup> This form predominates in Ox and S, and will be used throughout, despite the fact that in NO/G we encounter rather the standard form *ṣāḥar*.

<sup>9</sup> The substitution in NO of *kūčak* for Ṣafī al-Dīn's *zīrafand* is a matter of nomenclature, not substance.

<sup>10</sup> Various forms of derivation are suggested, but there can be little doubt that the main motivation for the linkage is cosmological rather than analytical.

<sup>11</sup> In the sense of having assigned to it a mode block, or being the only mode mentioned in the heading. Several pieces, like the *kulliyāt*, modulate through all the modes of the *āwāz* set as well as those of the *ṣudūd* set. One of the *āwāzes*, *māya*, appears in headings in modal compounds (fol. 153b with *būsalik*, fol. 162b with *nawā*), as does *dugāh*, one of the modes outside the two sets (fol. 136b, with *hijāz*).



hardly have diluted the conservative character of NO: many later but at least equally common modes would still have to be excluded. Reference to G would seem to confirm the possibility of such an addition, for the four *āwāzes* represented in it yield a total of 27 pieces,<sup>12</sup> suggesting, therefore, some 40 for the set as a whole, a number that could quite easily be accommodated within the 52 pages available. However, the issue is complicated by the fact that there are several gaps in G, so that the original number of entries for one or more of these *āwāzes* may well have been higher and, if we take the evidence of Ox and S into account, it would appear rather that the space allocated (assuming that the number of pages we have in the present binding is what the compiler planned) was inadequate for the purpose: the relative incidence of the *āwāzes* there is on average not significantly lower than that of the *šudūd*, so that by analogy one would have expected a minimum average of 25 pages per *āwāz* to have been set aside, that is, a total of 150. But it is legitimate to speculate, finally, that NO as it stands could represent merely the first part of a larger enterprise, to be completed in a further volume or volumes, covering the whole repertoire and including, therefore, the remaining modes (*šū'bas* and *tarkibs*) also. If so, NO would be a torso, an unfinished reordering of G, conservative only to the extent that it intended to organize its contents according to mode groupings hallowed by tradition rather than justified by any hierarchies of importance in current practice.

### 2.1.2. G

As well as being in the same hand, G is identical with NO in its dimensions and format. There are again 17 lines to the page, with headings and technical specifications in red. That these were added in after the body of verse and setting had been written out is demonstrated by their unfortunate omission from a great many pieces, including all those on fols. 69-150. Thus out of a total of just over 400 pieces only 289 are furnished with full (or partial) headings and specifications of internal structure. Of these at least 121 are also included in NO, leaving at most 168 as the total number in G providing information supplementary to that derivable from the 261 settings in NO. The distribution of the pieces common to both collections indicates conclusively that S is incomplete, most likely through the loss of a sizeable batch of folios: none of the songs with headings is in *kūčak*, *hijāz* or *būsālīk*, and of the 60 pieces in these modes in NO only one or two at most are to be located among the 117 pieces in G without headings, whereas elsewhere, as with *'irāq*, *buzurg* and *nawā*, the two collections have virtually identical contents.

<sup>12</sup> Assuming that *nawrūz* and *nawrūz-i aṣl* ('basic *nawrūz*'), if not synonymous, were both considered representative of the canonic *dūdāz nawrūz*.



عَلَى الْبَرْسُورَى عَاصِفَةً لَيْسَتْ دُرُجُهُ دَوَاكِي  
 بَلْ أَلْضَلَّ الْأَصْبَحُ وَجِلَّ مَرْتَعٌ وَنَدَاكَ الْكَوْكَبُ سَكَنَ عَيْنِي  
 بَيْنَ ظِلِّ سَحَابٍ مَخْجَلٍ وَجَدِيهِ صَلَاحُهُ حَذُّ الْخِلَافِ حَيَاتِي

سَبِّحِ أَوَّلَ

لَيْفَ لَكَ كَلْبٌ كَصَبَّ اللَّهْ كَالِ وَصُفْوَةٍ كَوَكُوفٍ وَنَدَاكَ أَرْجَمَ لَحْدُوكِ  
 كَوَكُوكِ وَرَشِيدٍ قَوَّعُوكِ وَرَمَحَ اللَّحِجَ نَدَاكَ تَقَاتَلَتْ دُرُجَتُهُ مَرَّ حَلِيلِ  
 دُرُجَتُهُ جُرُودٌ دُرُودٌ تَأَنَّنَتْ دُرُجَتُهُ مَوَكُوكِ وَشَبَّ مَوَدُّهُ  
 كَوَكُوكِ وَرَمَحَ لَحْدُوكِ وَنَدَاكَ كَالِ وَصُفْوَةٍ كَوَكُوفٍ وَنَدَاكَ أَرْجَمَ لَحْدُوكِ  
 رَتَّ مَخَافَةٍ كَالِ وَرَمَحَ لَحْدُوكِ وَنَدَاكَ كَالِ وَصُفْوَةٍ كَوَكُوفٍ وَنَدَاكَ أَرْجَمَ لَحْدُوكِ

نَهْدُ دُرُجٍ كَوَكُوكِ وَنَدَاكَ أَرْجَمَ لَحْدُوكِ وَنَدَاكَ أَرْجَمَ لَحْدُوكِ  
 كَوَكُوكِ وَرَمَحَ لَحْدُوكِ وَنَدَاكَ أَرْجَمَ لَحْدُوكِ وَنَدَاكَ أَرْجَمَ لَحْدُوكِ

يَا وَجِلَّ مَرْتَعٌ وَنَدَاكَ الْكَوْكَبُ سَكَنَ عَيْنِي  
 قَدِ فُتِنْتُ بِالْمَلَاكِ بِالْأَرْجَمِ بِالْأَرْجَمِ  
 يَا فُتْنَةُ الْأَنَامِ يَا بَدْرُ الْخَلَامِ  
 يَا فَاضِلُ الْبُذُورِ يَا فَاضِلُ الْمَشِيرِ  
 يَا كَامِلُ الْخَافِضِ خَسَرَ لِقْدَ سَبَابِي  
 يَا وَجِلَّ مَرْتَعٌ وَنَدَاكَ الْكَوْكَبُ سَكَنَ عَيْنِي  
 يَا فَاضِلُ الْبُذُورِ يَا فَاضِلُ الْمَشِيرِ  
 يَا كَامِلُ الْخَافِضِ خَسَرَ لِقْدَ سَبَابِي  
 يَا وَجِلَّ مَرْتَعٌ وَنَدَاكَ الْكَوْكَبُ سَكَنَ عَيْنِي

Apart from the welcome addition of two pieces characterized as *şawf*, the range of forms encountered is identical with that in NO, so that the extra information yielded by G relates primarily to the larger number of modes included. As already noted, four of the *āwāz* group are represented, and other pieces are in modes classified as *şu'bas* and *tarkibs*. However, given the incomplete nature of the collection, it would not be particularly useful to supply a counterpart to table 1 - nor, because of the disturbed order of the folios,<sup>13</sup> which makes it by no means certain that a piece lacking any indication of mode should be assigned to that mentioned on the preceding folio, could accuracy be guaranteed. Nevertheless, despite the original sequence having become confused in places, it is clear that the general principle of organization is the same as in NO: pieces are grouped in mode blocks. But although some of these (e.g. *buzurg* and *zangūla*) are almost identical to their counterparts in NO, not only in contents but also in sequence, it cannot be claimed that in the collection as a whole the same care is taken to place first examples of the *nawba* or, failing that, of the *qawl* + *ğazal* pair. The majority of the pieces not replicated in NO again have the heading '*amal*' (101 instances). There are some 46 *nawba* movements in all, the *qawl* (23) being the most frequent, while among the remaining pieces there appear, in addition to *ĉār ħarb* (12), the names of two other rhythmic cycles, *ramal* (4) and *awsaṭ* (1). The ratio of '*amal*' to *ĉār ħarb* pieces is thus almost the same as in NO. The ratio of Arabic to Persian settings, on the other hand, differs somewhat, for while in NO the numbers are virtually equal, we find among the additional pieces in G twice as many Persian settings, partly because of the lower incidence of the *nawba* (where three of the four movements usually have Arabic texts) in the modes not already represented in NO.

The relationship between NO and G or, more specifically, the compiler's motive for producing two overlapping collections, is by no means clear. It is evident that in its present form NO is a coherent, self-contained selection; nevertheless, it might be no more than part of a larger enterprise never fully realized. G contains more pieces than NO, and covers a wider range of modes, but is certainly unfinished, showing signs, indeed, of having been abandoned.

Determining which collection was made, or at least begun, first is rendered more difficult by an inconsistency within G. The indications of internal structure in the first part of the manuscript (Ga, fols. 1-66) differ somewhat from those in the later marked-up section (Gb, fols. 151-259), where usage coincides with that of NO. From this one might readily conclude that the norms of Gb incorporate second thoughts that were then applied to NO (yielding the order of compilation Ga Gb NO), although it is not inconceivable that second thoughts

<sup>13</sup> An attempt at reordering is made in appendix 2.

evolved for NO were subsequently applied to Gb (yielding Ga NO Gb). Whichever order is postulated, there is no explanation for the compiler's failure to mark up, by one method or the other, the large number of intervening folios (Gx), unless one is to assume that Ga + Gx originally came at the end, the marking up simply petering out at a certain point. If so, the second thoughts relate to Ga, the marking up of which would be posterior to the completion of NO (yielding Gb NO Ga, and excluding Gb Ga NO).

But there is a further possibility to consider, namely, that the composition of NO preceded the commencement of G. Relevant here is evidence provided by pieces common to both, for one has more material (that is, two more verses are set) in NO than in G,<sup>14</sup> while (at least) another three have their composer identified in NO but not in G.<sup>15</sup> In two collections by the same compiler the probability is that the later one will be marked by accretion rather than loss, and we can therefore conclude that the orders NO Ga Gb and NO Gb Ga may be dismissed. It is equally unlikely, for the same reason, that NO should have preceded either one of the two sections of G, so that the orders Ga NO Gb and Gb NO Ga may also be dismissed. As Gb Ga NO has already been discarded, the possibility of an original Gb Ga order must be excluded, and only Ga Gb NO remains.

Nevertheless, if NO is certainly the more carefully planned collection, it does not appear to be a final, polished version of (part of) the repertoire distilled from the raw materials provided by G. Empty pages are frequently left at the same point in both, and a heading and text followed by a space for the missing setting in G may be reproduced exactly in NO. The present state of NO is thus still interim rather than final: the compiler evidently hoped to add further, as yet undiscovered pieces. A particularly clear indication of this is provided by *rahāwī*: no fewer than 11 pages were originally allocated to this mode, although with no more than two entries little progress in collecting examples had been made. It would seem, therefore, that even if posterior, NO is still fairly close to G in time.

### 2.1.3. Ox

In size Ox resembles many later collections, measuring 160x119, 130x87 mm., with 21 lines to the page, and is also like them (and NO) in having its contents for the most part entered into pre-assigned blocks, albeit with the major

<sup>14</sup> G: 56b = NO: 89b.

<sup>15</sup> G: 55b = NO: 87b, G: 56a = NO: 89a, G: 164a = NO: 31a. There are also instances of the same piece being ascribed to different composers, but in the present context this is irrelevant, as it is impossible to tell which is the 'corrected' version.



difference that the blocks are not allocated to modes: explicit section divisions are headed *dar uşûl-i x* ('in the rhythmic cycle *x*'), and there are further groupings of material based on form. Blank pages at the end of sections (of which there are in any case far fewer than in NO) have generally been filled in with later additions in different hands: these will generally be ignored in what follows. The major exception is provided by a sizeable block of material in Ouseley 128 (13b-31b) which in its general style and the nature of its contents appears sufficiently close to the main body of the collection to be considered to all intents and purposes contemporary with it. Section titles and the headings for most pieces are in red, but technical terms for the internal sections of pieces (*ğazal*<sup>16</sup> excepted), and indications of changes of mode or rhythmic cycle, are generally not. Internally red is normally restricted to punctuation symbols and the overlining of section headings, but there is, unusually, one set of pieces, possibly considered particularly important by the compiler, in which the verse is also in red.<sup>17</sup> Written in a rather small but generally clear *nasta'liq*, the text is fully pointed, but virtually devoid of vowelling.

The distribution of section headings and contents in Ouseley 127 is as follows:

- fols. 1b-25b *dar uşûl-i hafif*  
75 (complete) settings<sup>18</sup>
- fol. 26a is blank
- fols. 26b-48a *dar uşûl-i 'amal*  
74 settings<sup>19</sup>
- fol. 49a has a piece in *hafif* in another hand; fol. 50a is blank
- fols. 50b-62a *dar uşûl-i awsağ*  
43 settings
- fols. 62b-63b contain later additions; fol. 63b is blank
- fols. 64a, 66b-67a  
five settings in *se darb* preceding the section heading  
(fols. 64b-66a contain later material with no musical content)
- fols. 67b-94b *dar uşûl-i se darb*  
100 settings<sup>20</sup>
- fols. 95b-105a *dar uşûl-i câr darb*

<sup>16</sup> Not here the name of a *nawba* movement but that of a section of a piece introducing a new verse text usually quite unrelated to the main text.

<sup>17</sup> Ouseley 127: 92a-95a. The pieces are all by Mawlânâ H'âja Rûmî.

<sup>18</sup> Including 1 *taşnif*, 1 *qawî*, 1 *ğazal*, 1 *tarâna*, 1 *firûdâst*; 1 *nawba* movement not assigned to any particular category; and one piece in *jaqil* rather than *hafif*.

<sup>19</sup> One piece is said to be in the cycle *muhammas* (but without deletion of the reference to '*amal*').

<sup>20</sup> Including the previous five.

## 35 settings

fol. 105b-107a contain sundry later additions; fol. 108a is blank

fol. 108b-114b *dar uşûl-i darb al-fath wa-muḥajjal*

11 settings in *darb al-fath*;<sup>21</sup> 8 in *muḥajjal*

Ouseley 128 begins with a single further such section heading, but then abandons organization according to rhythmic cycle in favour, broadly, of form, although ending again with a group of settings largely in the same cycle:

fol. 1b-13a *dar uşûl-i ramal wa ḡayruh*

35 settings in various rhythmic cycles

(8 of these are classified as *taşnîf*)

fol. 13b-31b 61 settings classified as *taşnîf*; 1 *ḡazāl* (this section is in a different, if very similar, hand)

fol. 32a-37a are in mixed later hands

fol. 37b-43a 16 settings in the *pēšraw* form; 4 in the *dā'ira* form<sup>22</sup>

fol. 43b-48b 41 settings in the *naḥṣ* form<sup>23</sup>

fol. 49a has one unclassified setting; fol. 49b is in a later hand

fol. 50a-65b 59 settings in the *pēšraw* form

fol. 65b-72a 49 settings in the *naḥṣ* form

fol. 72a-81a contain later material (including on ff. 73b-76a a set of mode definitions)

fol. 82b-84b a set of 7 pieces by Şafī al-Dīn

fol. 85a-105a 70 settings in *īraqīl*<sup>24</sup>

1 setting in *ḡafīf*

1 *nawba* (no cycle specified)

fol. 105a-107b contain miscellaneous later additions

The total number of settings is 691. Pieces in the *pēšraw* and *dā'ira* forms have no text, while for those in the *naḥṣ* form the texts are Turkish. Texts are otherwise Persian or Arabic, in an approximate 2 : 1 ratio, corresponding very closely, therefore, to that found among the pieces in G left out of NO, and confirming that the equality between the two languages suggested by NO was not representative of the repertoire as a whole.

<sup>21</sup> The final piece is without specification, but as it is a *ḡazāl* relating to a preceding *qawl* in *darb al-fath*, it may safely be assigned to this cycle.

<sup>22</sup> With on fol. 38a an additional setting in a later hand.

<sup>23</sup> This term is equivalent to, and in later collections will be replaced by, the etymologically correct *naqṣ/naḡṣ*.

<sup>24</sup> Including 1 complete *nawba* (only the *qawl* being marked as in *īraqīl*), 3 *qawl*, 3 *ḡazāl*, 2 *tarāna*, 2 *frūdāst*, 2 other unspecified *nawba* movements, and 1 *taşnîf*.



## 2.1.4. S

Lacking the abundance of blank pages characteristic of NO and later collections organized along similar lines, S manages to pack a great deal into a much more confined space. Measuring 197x128, 125x72 mm., it contains after an initial mention, on the first page, of the piece with which the main (and original) body of the text commences, the *kullī kulliyāt* of Šams-i Rūmī, three and a half pages of extraneous material, added later in another hand, and after the main body of the text come further additions in the same hand. This material, which is not only typologically similar to, but also contemporary with if not posterior to HP, as is clearly demonstrated by the inclusion of pieces by Ḥāfiẓ Post's younger contemporary 'Iṣṣī (d. 1712), will be disregarded in what follows.

The main body of the text is written in a clear *nasta'liq* at nine lines to the page initially, gradually increasing to 15 at the end. Headings are in red, as are, although occasionally and not consistently, technical terms for internal sections. Pointing is provided throughout, vocalization sporadically and infrequently.

The lack of partially or completely empty pages is relatable to the main formal distinction between S and the other *mecmuas*, namely, that it is not organized according to pre-assigned blocks into which material is subsequently added, whether all at once or piecemeal: rather, one composition follows immediately upon the next in a sequence that seems to obey no fully logical overall organizational principle. A number of criteria may nevertheless be noted, the presence of which makes the structure of the whole far from random. The most striking appears immediately after the opening *kulliyāt* (presumably placed first because of the prestige attached to the sheer length and complexity of the piece) and a second piece with no particular distinguishing features, in the presentation of five sets of pieces, expressly designated as such, in each of which every piece is by the same composer:

fol. 8a-14a:	7 pieces by Šafi al-Dīn
fol. 16b-21b:	7 pieces by 'Alī Sitā'i
fol. 22b-30b:	10 pieces by 'Alī Sitā'i
fol. 33b-34b:	7 pieces by Rīẓwān Šāh <sup>25</sup>
fol. 35a-37a:	5 pieces by 'Alī Sitā'i

This method of grouping also occurs in Ox but, with one exception, always within one of the rhythmic cycle blocks, so that the members of the set

<sup>25</sup> Seven is the number stated to be in the set, but only three pieces are given (and it is only to the first of these that membership of the set is assigned).



have at least two elements in common. In S, however, more than one cycle may occur, so that it is the notion of grouping a composer's works into sets - always of five, seven, or ten pieces - that is the common element, while the principles of selection may vary somewhat.<sup>26</sup>

The first 13 pieces in S all have Arabic texts, but this seems to have little significance in itself, depending largely on the fact, which no doubt is of importance, that the first set of seven is by Šafi al-Dīn, texts for whose pieces are more frequently in that language. In addition to the sets which presumably represent a known selection of pieces by a given composer there are several other instances where two or three works by the same composer are juxtaposed, and elsewhere groupings of from two to ten pieces may be encountered in which the common feature is identity of mode or rhythmic cycle. But the organization of the work as a whole is clearly not systematized in any discernible fashion, and many pieces would appear to have nothing in common with what precedes or follows (although the possibility cannot be excluded that some further feature was involved, say of melodic structure, that is not recorded here). Nevertheless, it would be prudent to assume overall a mixture of organized sequences and random juxtapositions, although that the latter might result from the unplanned acquisition of new material rather than the caprices of memory is rendered less likely by the consistency of the handwriting and ink, and particularly by the gradual increase in the number of lines per page, suggesting strongly that the collection is not the result of gradual accretions of material added at various times.

As has been noted, S contains only Persian and Arabic texts, again in an approximate 2 : 1 ratio. The total number of settings is 233, contained within 143 folios.<sup>27</sup>

## 2.2. Headings

In all three collections these are formulated in Persian, and involve up to five elements:

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<sup>26</sup> The sets in Ox are:

Ouseley 127: 1b-4a: 10 pieces by 'Alī Sīdā'i (but only 7 of the set are recorded)  
 8a-17a contain, but not in an uninterrupted sequence, 8 pieces by  
 Gāzanfar all assigned membership of a set of 5.  
 26b-27b: 5 pieces by 'Alī Sīdā'i  
 67b-69a: 7 pieces by 'Alī Sīdā'i  
 92a-94b: 7 pieces by Mawlānā Ḥwājā Rūmī  
 Ouseley 128: 82b-84a: 7 pieces by Šafi al-Dīn

The last set is the one for which no common rhythmic cycle is indicated, and is identical with the first set in S. There is some, but by no means complete, overlap between the two collections with regard to the identity of the pieces making up the various sets by 'Alī Sīdā'i.

<sup>27</sup> Fols. 3b-145a.

composer; mode; rhythmic cycle; form; miscellaneous other information

With rare exceptions, all provide the first two elements; but thereafter they differ somewhat. In relation to *nawba* pieces NO/G defines the form but not the rhythmic cycle, while in NO the remaining pieces are headed *ĉār ġarb* or '*amal*', terms which in Ox (as shown by the contents of Ouseley 127 listed in 2.1.3) denote rhythmic cycles, and in G two further rhythmic cycle names similarly appear as the sole additional element. But given that a number of '*amal*' pieces in NO also have another cycle specified, it would be reasonable to assume, at least provisionally, that with respect to *ĉār ġarb* and '*amal*' form and rhythm are coterminous. S normally identifies the rhythmic cycle but only rarely the form, while Ox resembles S in the rhythmic cycle blocks and NO in the form blocks (within which indication of the rhythmic cycle, if by no means consistent, is however quite frequent). Additional information is in all three sporadic. The reversal of emphasis with regard to form and rhythmic cycle between NO/G and S might be accounted for by assuming that for the former there still remained in the *nawba* a high degree of predictability with regard to the rhythmic cycle, thus rendering definition only marginally informative, while in S the demise of the *nawba* had led to the loss of such predictability, and possibly also to the final erosion of a number of perhaps increasingly notional formal distinctions: as will be seen, the internal structure of the various forms seems, with one exception, to be virtually identical, and the two forms peculiar to Ox are immediately identifiable by the nature of their texts. But whatever the ultimate causes, the headings of NO/G and S (which those of Ox generally resemble) do differ in format, each placing first the element normally lacking in the other. NO thus begins with form (F) and then identifies composer (C) and mode (M), most simply as follows:

F-i C *dar* (*maqām-i*)<sup>28</sup> M

A further common formulation is:

F C *sāhta ast dar maqām-i* M ('F composed by C in *maqām* M')

(Here *ast* may on occasion be omitted, as may *dar* if further information is added at the end including *dar*, e.g.:

F C *sāhta maqām-i* M *dar uşul kardan*)

<sup>28</sup> On one occasion (fol. 172b) *dā'ira* occurs instead of *maqām*, while in G we also encounter *jins* for one of the *šudūd* (*nawā*) and, for other modes, the appropriate terms for the groups to which they are traditionally assigned: *dawz*, *šu'ba* and *tarkib*.

Mention of the rhythmic cycle (R), where it occurs, may follow definition of the mode, as above:

F C *sāhta ast maqām-i M dar uşul-i R* ('F composed by C; *maqām M* in rhythmic cycle R')

or precede:

F C *sāhta ast uşul-i R dar maqām-i M*

The above are the heading patterns most commonly found. The *nawba* may be named as such, in which case the form of the first movement (*qawl*) is normally not stated, or vice versa. The names of the following movements appear as e.g.:

(*dar*) *ğazal*, (*dar*) *ğazal-i ū* or *ğazal-i ūst*

Further particulars may be entered before or after the mode definition, or may even replace it:

F C *sāhta ast dar R bāzgaşt uşul kardan*  
F-i C *dar bāzgaşt uşul kardan maqām-i M*

They may also be added to the single word headings of the particular *nawba* movements:

*firūdāşt dar duwāzdah wa-šaš*

The two phrases quoted above, (*dar*) *uşul kardan* and (*dar*) *duwāzdah wa-šaš*, together with *dar dōlāb*, constitute virtually the whole stock of additional information in NO: (*dar*) *uşul kardan* (*bāzgaşt* being the name of the section to which this feature applies) means that a number of rhythmic cycles appear successively, while (*dar*) *duwāzdah wa-šaš* ('twelve and six') indicates a comparable modulation sequence whereby specifically the twelve *şudūd* and six *āwāz* modes all make an appearance. The meaning of *dar dōlāb* is not immediately clear.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Any connexion with the modern Arab *dūlāb* is most unlikely, and it certainly has nothing to do with the modern Turkish *dolap*. The basic meaning of the word is '(water) wheel', so that possibly we are confronted here with a metaphor for some kind of sequence of change. But if so, the ways in which it differed from the other terms indicating changes of mode and rhythmic cycle are still obscure.

In S, as has been noted, primacy is given not to the form but to the rhythmic cycle, by far the most frequent wording being:

R dar M az ān-i C ('R in M belonging to C')

(This is also the most common heading type in Ox.)

However, there are a few cases in S where the form is given, and it is then placed first, while the rhythmic cycle is placed last:

F dar M az ān-i C (uṣūlaš) R

or even omitted:

F dar M az ān-i C

The only further information frequently encountered in S and Ox is an indication of the membership of the various sets of pieces by the same composer. Here Arabic numerals (N) are used:

(mīn) (S)/az (Ox) N-i C dar M R

(mīn) N dar M az ān-i C R

In Ox the standard wording in the form blocks is:

F dar M ((uṣūlaš) R) az ān-i C

### 2.3. Form

In the present chapter these collections will be examined, as far as possible, in isolation. The data they yield will not, therefore, be interpreted in the light of the definitions provided by theorists; nor will the information derivable from them be considered in terms of its worth as a supplement or even corrective to that obtained from theoretical works. Such comparative assessments will be attempted, rather, in the context of the wider historical perspective presented in chapter 4.

Having sketched the general differences in contents and lay-out between the various collections, we may now turn to the structures exhibited by the songs recorded in them. The formal vocabulary encountered at the level of the piece as a whole consists of *qawl*, *ḡazal*, *tarāna*, *firūdāšt* and *mustazād* (the *nawba* movements); (*kullī*) *kulliyāt* and *ṣawt*; *qit'a* (-i *nawba*) and *ṣawt al-'amal* (Ox and G only); *pēšraw*, *dā'ira*, *naḡš* and *taṣnīf* (Ox only); and,




accepting provisionally that these terms may have formal implications rather than (or in addition to) being designations of rhythmic cycles, *ġār ġarb* and *ʿamal* (NO/G only). As might be expected from the differing emphases of the various heading styles, reference to such categories occurs most consistently in NO/G, and the evidence it provides will therefore be examined first. Not only does NO/G also have the incidental advantage of being the earliest collection (although it should be stressed that at this stage the discussion will remain resolutely synchronic, questions of historical development being deferred) but in many respects it is, equally fortuitously, the most revealing at the level of internal detail. Such information will, however, be considered later: to be examined at this stage are general aspects of form set in the particular context of an enquiry into the extent to which correlations might be established between varying patterns of internal structure and the several broad formal categories listed above. Insight into such structural variation (or the lack of it) may nevertheless best be gained from scrutiny of the full range of data provided, the nature of which may suitably be illustrated by the transcription of a complete *nawba* text from NO.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.3.1.1. Transcription conventions


The conventions used in transcribing from NO are reasonably straightforward but require, nevertheless, a few preliminary remarks, particularly with regard to the treatment of the problems encountered. NO gives, after the heading, the verse to be set, then the details of the setting in a running text. Here the setting has been laid out in such a way as to show clearly not only the section boundaries but also internal repetition of material. Section headings are centred, as are the numerals and letters, the interpretation (and hence status) of which has yet to be determined, that appear to indicate further internal divisions of them. The composition itself, that is, everything except the initial heading, the immediately following display of the verse to be set, section headings and other internal technical terms and punctuation marks, will be referred to as the text, within which three layers may be discerned. These will be termed verse (the poetic text itself as manifest in the setting); word(s) (particular conventional expressions such as *yār*, *dōst*, which are meaningful in themselves but which, whether they occur singly or together, are isolated from any semantic context); and syllable(s) (denoting both the nonsense (i.e. non-lexical) strings that dominate particular sections and the prolongation syllables embedded within both the verse and the word layers). To differentiate the three layers, verse will be picked out in bold and words in roman, although it should be observed that the boundary between word and syllable is not always easy to determine, and inconsistencies may be

<sup>30</sup> Fols. 68b-70b, by Ḥwājja (= 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī).

encountered. Where a text or word element is expanded it is assumed, even if vowel length is distorted, that the onset represents the original, so that an amplification *mū'u* of a text element *mu* is represented as *mū'u* and not *mā'u*. It is at the syllable level particularly that NO is much more explicit and detailed than S and Ox, which often fail to indicate prolongation syllables in the verse. In many cases, for example, they will provide no equivalent to what is generally termed *taqsim-i awwal* in NO, the section indicating how the first hemistich was elaborated, presumably on the grounds that the mere initial citation of the poetry was sufficient to remind the singer of the details of the particular setting.

Transcription problems occur mainly at the syllable level (at the word and verse levels semantic content is normally adequate to resolve occasional problems), and result for the most part from one or two graphic peculiarities in NO. Vowelling is provided extensively, but the positioning of the vowel signs indicating the short vowel qualities /i,a,u/ (or /Ø/) is sometimes rather approximate, so that it is not always easy, for example, to tell whether a vowel precedes or follows /Ø/ (as in e.g. *diril* or *dirli*). Occasionally also, given their general similarity, *d* and *r* may be confused.<sup>31</sup> A particularly unorthodox feature is that a prolongation sign normally indicating /ā/ after a glottal stop is frequently employed in conjunction with other consonants, or is graphically extended to cover two or more letters. Further, because of the way alternative conventions are employed, it may occur in its normal context but be assumed, nevertheless, to function as a secondary indication of prolongation, and both here and over single consonants it will transcribed not, as is customary, by a macron, but by a colon, so that e.g.  is transcribed *hā:*,<sup>32</sup> and  as *tan:*. Where it covers a number of letters, brackets will be used to enclose the area concerned, so that e.g.  is transcribed as {*tan*}. If no vowel is indicated at what may reasonably be construed as the end of a syllable string, or what a final letter form explicitly shows to be such, /Ø/ is assumed. The identity of a missing vowel can normally be determined by analogy with a similar string elsewhere, especially as only two vowel qualities are indicated throughout most syllable sections: vowels so supplied will be written in a smaller size and raised. In those rare cases where the missing vowel (or /Ø/) cannot readily be supplied a dot is employed. How the two vowel qualities which occupy most of the syllable material were to be realized is impossible to define, although a reasonably wide spread may safely be assumed, reflecting the differing language and dialect backgrounds of the performers. NO sometimes notates /i/ as *ɿ*, sometimes as *ĭ*, but there are no grounds for supposing that this might be an attempt to differentiate, say, a high [i] from a mid-high [e] quality: both notations co-occur

<sup>31</sup> Cf. note 2.

<sup>32</sup> And not *ha'd*, which would normally appear as . The *d* in *ha:* is therefore to be considered doubly (or at least extra) long.



not in purely syllabic material but in prolongations of the verse, as in e.g. *فِي إِي* *fī'ī'ī'ī* (or *fī'ī'ī'ī*), an elaboration of the verse element *fī*, and that the two may be used indiscriminately is shown by the fact that in G exactly the same word in the same piece is written as *فِي عِي*.<sup>33</sup>

A further problem concerns the status, in purely syllable material, of *h*. There are grounds for thinking, especially when this appears in final form, marking therefore the end of a string, that it was probably realized as /a/, and that /h/ did not form part of the phonetic inventory of the more common of the two types of syllable material encountered. However, there are instances in NO that cannot readily be accounted for in this way, and given the almost complete vowelless use of *h* to indicate a final /a/ would not, strictly speaking, be necessary, so that it has been decided that here *h* should be retained. Any spacing or use of other final consonant forms to segment longer stretches of syllables has been incorporated in the transcription, but some of the other divisions are arbitrary. Any segmented group beginning with a vowel is assumed according to the norms of Arabic phonology to have a glottal stop onset (not indicated in the transliteration), although singers with Persian or Turkish as a first language (presumably the great majority) may not have so realized it.

<sup>33</sup> G: 183a, NO: 2a. Cf. also NO: 83b, where the verse element *mi* generates an exactly parallel *مِي إِي* *mī'ī'ī'ī* (or *mī'ī'ī'ī*).

تَنْجِ نِیَاءَ دَر تَنْجِ تَنْجِ نِیَاءَ سَدِّدِ تَرْدَرِشَن تَرْدَرِشَن تَرْدَرِشَن  
 تَوْبَتِ خَوَاجِ سَاخَن لَسْتُ دَر مَقَامِ کَوچَکِ قَوْلِ  
 قَلْبِ لَحْجِ طَرَاکِ لَا نَالَ الْمَنَا وَجَنَتْ عَلَیْهِ يَدُ الصُّدُورِ بِمَا جَنَّا \*  
 نَسِیمِ لَوَلِ

نَهْ دَر تَرَا لَا لَا لَایِ فَرَسْکَ مَسْکَا لَبُو کَو لَوْنِ لَسَاءَ لَبْتُ سِوَا کَا  
 کَا مَکَا کَا لَو کَا مَکَا لَو کَو عَا لَو لَو مَنَاءَ آ لَکَا سَدِّ نَمِ تَانَهْ دَر تَنْجَا  
 نَهْ دَر دَر نَا کَی لَهْ لَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ  
 تَرَا لَا لَا لَایِ نَسِیمِ ۲ وَجَنَتْ عَلَیْهِ يَدُ الصُّدُورِ بِمَا جَنَّا تَر نَمِ تَانَهْ دَر تَنْجَا نَهْ دَر  
 دَر نَا کَی لَهْ لَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ  
 تَابَنِ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ  
 تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ تَانَهْ  
 مَایِ تَنِ دَر نَهْ نَهْ دَر دَر تَنْجَا دَر نَهْ دَر نَهْ دَر نَهْ دَر نَهْ دَر نَهْ دَر نَهْ دَر نَهْ دَر نَهْ  
 لِنَا کَی لَهْ لَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ نَهْ  
 عَزَلِ لَو سَتِ

مَهْ شَا تَرِکِ وَفَا دَر دَر مَکَنِ بِلِی لَزِی نَبَا یَا دَو اَعْبَادِی مَکَنِ \*  
 مَسْکَلِ

مَلَا نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ نِیَاءَ

## 2.3.1.2. Transcription

*nawbat ḥ<sup>w</sup>āja sāḥta ast dar maqām-i kūčak*

qawl

*qalbun aḥabba siwākā lā nāla 'l-munā  
wa-janat 'alayhi yadu 'l-ṣudūdi bi-mā janā*

taqsim-i awwal

*tanahdir tar lālālālay qahkakah hakkā: lbūkūkūn aḥa' ā' a abba siwākākāhā  
kakāka lā: 'akā nā: lā' a a' a' aḥā a' a almunā' a ākkā*

tarannum

*tā: nah dir tannā tanah dirdir nā: kay*

2

*ahhah ahha' āy nālakal munā' a ā' akā' āri:*

awwal

*tanahdir tar lālālālay*

taqsim 2

*wa-janat 'alayhi yadu 'l-ṣudūdi bi-mā janā*

tarannum

*tā: nah dir tannā tanah dir dir nākay ahhah ahha' āy mākākā janā' a a' akā  
ārikkī jakā' ānimākan*

bāzgašt

*tā: nanī tā: nanah nannā tā: nanī tā: nanah nannā tanananah dīrtan tanah  
dirdir hā' āyyār*

*tā: nanī tā: nanah nannā tā: nanī tā: nanah nannā tanananah dīrtan tanah  
dirdirmay yār*

*hā: y {tan} dīrtan tanah dirdir tannā ditan ditan darallah dīrnātā dirdarad linā kay*

2

*ahhah ayyāy mākākā janā' a a' akā*

*ārikkī jakā' ānimākan*



## ğazal-i üst

*mahwaşâ tark-i wafâdârî makun biş az in bâ yâr ağyârî<sup>34</sup> makun*

## mustahall

*tililah tinâtilâh tinâtil lillirtanî tadîrnay tananah tinâ tananah tinâ taddardîr tanî  
tanî / (fol. 69a) tin:ay tan nan nannâ*

## taqsîm-i awwal

*mâkahwaşâ'â: tarki wafâkâ: hâkâkâ ahâ kah kâ dâhâkkâ hâkkâ rîkîkî  
mak{û'u'u}kun*

## 2

*â'â' a{rî} {dô}kôst tâ:nâtan nan{nan} tan nann{a'â'a\_n} daralîl dirîlîl daralîlah tîl  
lillanah dîrnay*

## 3

*dâri'î {î'î} hîkîkî mak{û'u'u}kun ahhahah hayyâr jâkânîmâkan*

## bâzgaşt

*tâ:nâ{a'} tâ:nâ{a'} tâ:nâ{a'} tanananah dîrtan tanah dîrdîrnay yâr hây*

## t

*{tal}{lâl}{lâl}{lâl}{lâl}{lâl}lâtan dîtah dîrtan tana tîl lillanah dîrnay  
dâhâkkâ hâkkâ: rîkî kî makû'u'ukun*

## 2

*{a'a'a'}{rî'î'î'} {dô}kôst tâ:nâ: tannan nan: tan nanna'â an daralîl dirîlîl daralîlah  
tîl lillanah dîrnay*

## 3

*dâ{rî'î'î'î} hîkîkî mak{û'u'u'}{kun}<sup>35</sup>*

## tarâna

*çûn bar sar-i kû-yî tû nadâram râhî dûr ast zamân zamân barâram âhî  
yakrûz nadîdamî walîkîn imrûz az şawq çunânâm kî nadîdam mâhî*

## mustahall

*tanah dîr {tân} tîl lîl{lân} tînâ{tân} tînâ:tan dîtah tîl lîl{lân} dôst*

## taqsîm-i awwal

*çûn: bâr sâ{rî} kû:yî {tû} nadâram râ'a â'a â'a â'a âhî*

<sup>34</sup> Written *yâr â ağyârî*.

<sup>35</sup> This kind of omission, where the text has reached the end of a line and the remainder can be easily supplied, is quite frequent.

لَكَاءَ لَبِي كَيَ لَمَّا لَمَّا دِي كِي جَلَا كَاءَ نَا لَنَ لَو لَك دَكُو زَنَدِي  
 بَا زَكْسَتَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ  
 مَائِ مَائِ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ  
 شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ  
 دَوَسَتَ سَدَبَدَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ شَنَنَ  
 فَرُو دَا سَتَ هَلُو

سَلَامٌ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ نَادِي كُمَا ه وَنَزَلَ رُوحًا بَوْلَادِي كُمَا  
 فَلَوْلَا كُمَا مَا عَدْنَا اللَّهُو كَ وَلَوْلَا اللَّهُو كِي مَا عَدْنَا كُمَا  
 نَسْتَهَلُّ

نَادِي رَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ  
 دَرِي شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ  
 كَمِيلَ نَا كَا كَا دِي كِي كَمُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو  
 كَلَا يَا فَو بَنَ بَنَ بَنَ بَنَ بَنَ بَنَ بَنَ بَنَ بَنَ بَنَ  
 شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ شَنَبَ  
 لَكَاءَ شَنَبَ دَرِي لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ  
 لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ  
 نَا كَنَ بِيُولَا كَدُو لِي كَمُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو لُو  
 أَيْ كَنَ لَدَلُ فَلَوْلَا كُمَا بَا زَكْسَتَ نَادِي دَرِي لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ لَانِ

## taqsīm 2

{dū}rā' astū: zāmān zamān bar a:ra' a am ā' a āhī kī

## sarband

tananan tananan {t<sup>an</sup>} tananan tananan tan āhah hayyār wā' a ā' a ā' a āhī {t<sup>il</sup>}  
{lil}{l<sup>ay</sup>}: {t<sup>il</sup>} {l<sup>il</sup>} lay tanananah dir{t<sup>an</sup>} tarah til lillanah dirnay ihikki hikki :/  
(fol. 69b) ākā' a' a āhī kī āhā āhā tīkiki jākā' a nimākan

## awwal

yakrūz nadīdami

## bāzgašt

tannan nan{nan} tan{nan} tanah dirnay tannan nan{nan} tannan hāy hāy  
tannan nan{nan} tan{nan} tanah dirnay tannan tan{nan} tan{nan} tanah dirnay  
tannan {tan} tannan {tan} tīnā {t<sup>an</sup>} tīnā: tan ditah til lil{l<sup>an</sup>} dō{st}

## sarband

tananan tananan tan: tananan tananan tan āhah hayyār

## firūdāšt-i ū

salāmūn 'alā ahli nādikumū wa-man ḥalla yawman bi-wādikumū  
fa-law lākumū mā 'arafnā 'l-hawā wa-law lā 'l-hawā mā 'arafnākumū

## mustahall

tādirtanani tanananī tardilil daradlah dirnā dillar dillar dillir tā: dīrnādi dardi tannā  
tanah tardirnay

## taqsīm 1

{a' ah} salākā mūkūkūn 'alā: ah akahli nākkākādīkiki kumū' u ū ū' u ū  
ū' u ū

## taqsīm 2

wa mākan ḥākakallah yāwman man biwākākā dīkiki kumū' u' u' u ūkū

## sarband

tanani tanani tanani tanani tani tani tani tani tanani tani tani tīnātā  
daradlah dirnātanah dirnay ākāh tanani darna tīl tīl lil lillan tanah dirwā' ayyār  
tanani darna tīl lil lil lillan

## 2

mākan biwākādī' i' i' ikumū' u' u ūkū āhā āhārikīkī kī jākā ānimākan





*fa-law lākumū*

awwal

bāzgašt

*tādir dillāh tīlilān talil tallah tīl / (fol. 70a) līl{t<sup>a</sup>a<sub>n</sub>} tā' ānānānat lā' anānānā  
tanah tardir.nay*

t

*{t<sup>a</sup>a<sub>n</sub>} tan tinā tardil.lah tillanah dirnā*

*tananan tananan tan tanā tardillāh tīl lillanah dirnā*

sarband

*tanani tanani tanani tanani tani tani tani tani tanani tani*

mustazād-i ū

*bāz īn čī 'ādatāst ki bunyād kardā-ī*

*bā dōstān nigar ki čī bī-dād kardā-ī*

*šīrīn-i dawr-i husraw-i hūbān-i 'ālamī*

*āhīr čī qaṣd-i kuṣtan-i farhād kardā-ī*

mustahall

*taradīn taradīn taddardīlli tanī tīl.lan dirnā tīl.lan tīl.lan tā:nātā: dirnā dar<sup>a</sup>dlinay*

taqsīm 1

*bāz īkīn čī 'ākākādatāst ki bunyākākād kākakardā ī'ikī*

tarannum

*tālah lal{t<sup>a</sup>a<sub>y</sub>} talalālah lallay talalā: talal{lay} t<sup>a</sup>rah tīlīlīn tardīlanākakay*

2

*bunyākākād kākakardā ī'ikī*

*āhā āhārikiki jā'ākānimākan*

awwal

*bā dōstān*

miyān hāna

*šī'ī{rīn<sup>i</sup>} {d<sup>a</sup>a<sub>w</sub>}rī hū:srawī hū:bākāni 'ā'alamī'ī'ikī*

tarannum

*tādir dīl.lah tīl lillan tarah tīl lillir tan dū<sup>a</sup>h tīl lillir tā:nātāni darallīnay  
ā' āh*

awwal

*āḥir ʿi qaṣd*

bāzgašt

*{t<sup>4</sup>n} dīr{t<sup>4</sup>n} {t<sup>4</sup>n} dīrtā:nā {t<sup>4</sup>n} dīrtā:nātānī dar<sup>a</sup>dlinay maḥbūb**{t<sup>4</sup>n} dīr{t<sup>4</sup>n} {t<sup>4</sup>n} dīrtā:nā tan dīrtā:nātānī darallīnā:kay**tā:lah lal{lay} dīrtā: lā{lay} {t<sup>4</sup>n} dīrtan tarah tillīn / (fol.70b) tardali{nay}*

awwal

*āḥir ʿi qaṣd-i kuṣtan-i farḥād kardā-i*

tarannum

### 2.3.2. Individual forms

Discussion of such features as the way verse, word, and syllable ingredients are combined, or the nature of the composer's treatment of the poetic text, will be taken up at a later stage. On the more purely formal level which concerns us here, the question of the criteria according to which the various sections might have been differentiated will also be deferred and as a first step we may consider, rather, how they combine to create large-scale entities. cursory inspection of the various song forms contained in NO/G would suggest some degree of freedom in the choice of sections to be included (and also, in some cases, in their positioning) and, further, the lack of any clear patterns of internal structure differentiating one from another, so that it would seem advisable to inspect each form separately. We may also note as a potentially important structural factor the length of the verse text and, as far as possible, consider within each form one-line settings, two-line settings, and settings of three and more lines as potentially separate subforms. In this respect the simplest forms to deal with - those about which the fewest generalizations can be made - are naturally those with the smallest number of examples, and we may begin, therefore, by considering the last and rarest of the five *nawba* movements.

#### 2.3.2.1. *mustazād*

This provides us with precisely two examples, one a one-line setting, the other the two-line setting transcribed in full above. Differences are immediately apparent in their respective section sequences, which are displayed in table 2, the alignment being governed in the first instance by the distribution of the verse-setting blocks, which here, as is normal, relate to hemistich (H) units:

one-line (6b) <sup>36</sup>		two-line (70a)	
<i>mustahall</i>		<i>mustahall</i>	
<i>taqsim 1</i>	(H1)	<i>taqsim 1</i>	(H1)
<i>sarband</i>		<i>tarannum</i>	
		2	
<i>miṭluh</i>	(H2)	<i>awwal</i>	(H2)
		<i>miyān ḥāna</i>	(H3)
		<i>tarannum</i>	
		<i>awwal</i>	(H4)
<i>bāzgašt</i>		<i>bāzgašt</i>	
		<i>awwal</i>	(H4)
<i>sarband</i>		<i>tarannum</i>	

Table 2

These two examples illustrate quite well the general lay-out and contents which, to anticipate, will be encountered in the other forms as well. Reference to the transcription of 70a shows that whereas H1 is given in full in *taqsim 1*, with extra prolongation syllables, only the first two words of H2 are indicated in *awwal*. This form of presentation is extremely common, and can only mean that the melodic material to which the detailed representation of H1 in *taqsim 1* relates was repeated in *awwal* as a setting of H2. Confirmation is provided by those pieces, such as the preceding *tarāna* and *firūdāšt*, in which the setting of H2 is written out: in both cases the number and distribution of the prolongation syllables closely match those for H1.

The basic minimum for the one-line category, it would therefore appear, is the setting of a single hemistich (*taqsim 1*),<sup>37</sup> which is then repeated with the substitution of the text of H2 for that of H1 (*awwal/miṭluh*),<sup>38</sup> followed by a syllable section (*bāzgašt*) and then a repeat of earlier material (*sarband*). The *bāzgašt*, being normally devoid of verse elements,<sup>39</sup> is thus

<sup>36</sup> Pieces will be identified by the folio on which their headings occur.

<sup>37</sup> Also written in full: *taqsim-i awwal* ('first division'). This section will be referred to henceforth simply as *taqsim*.

<sup>38</sup> *awwal* ('first') and *miṭluh* ('the like of it') appear to be functionally equivalent, and only *awwal* will be used henceforth.

<sup>39</sup> That of the *gazal* displayed above seems to be an exception. But the inclusion of verse elements (in 3 and the line above 2) is only apparent, and relates to the lack of a subsection heading in *taqsim*.

clearly differentiated from the settings of H1 and H2, and does not repeat syllable strings contained in the earlier syllable sections. It will be assumed as a working hypothesis that to such textual differentiation corresponds also melodic differentiation.

If the elements *taqsim*, *awwal*, and *bāzgašt* are core components of the one-line setting, to them should be added as a standard element of the two-line setting the *miyān*,<sup>40</sup> a verse section always relating to H3. However tempting it may be simply to accept as axiomatic that the *miyān* will provide melodic contrast with both *taqsim/awwal* and *bāzgašt*, it must be noted that evidence for such contrast is not immediately apparent within the settings themselves. Thus on the assumption that significant differences in the number and distribution of prolongation syllables within verse sections indicate differences in melodic material, juxtaposition of the *miyān* of 70a with its *taqsim* might suggest, but certainly does not conclusively demonstrate, a degree of contrast:

*bā z īkīn cī 'ākākāda tāst ki būnyākākād kākakarda r'ikī*  
*šī'i{rī nī} {d'a'aw}ri hū:srawi hū: bākā nī 'ā'a la mī'i'ikī*

Although there are clear differences, they are not so great as to exclude the possibility of variation in the use of the same melodic material consisting of no more than minor alterations in the mapping of text on to melody. In general, it may be observed that *taqsim* and *miyān* tend to be similar in length. Consequently, significant divergence in the number of prolongation syllables is infrequent, and where it does occur, as in 42a:

*taqsim: nigā: rikki niki ruḥ sākaraš čū*  
*miyān: naḥ'wā: hakkad {a'ar} zū'u'u ū'u'u ūkkūyi dikkikiga*

*taqsim: mākākāhākast nūrīmakān*  
*miyān: rī'i'ī kākard*

It may be localized, in this particular case affecting the central portion of the text setting but not the beginning or end. A slightly more complex example is 3a:

*taqsim: law lākkāhākā šu hū'u'ukū du ja mākākākā:li*  
*miyān: yāhākkā hākkā ṭākā lī bā:kal ḥakasākkā nā'a ā tī*

*I* marking the point at which the later repetition begins: this material does not belong to the *bāzgašt* proper, which ends with the line below *I*.

<sup>40</sup> Or, as in 70a, *miyān ḥāna* ('middle section'). Only the short form *miyān* will be used henceforth.

*taqsim*: kû{ 'u' } kum fi' t' i' t'      ḡākākākākāhā t' i' i' kī āhā  
*miyān*: fi' i' kī      šakkah kakah kar 'ikīkīl      hawā' a' akā.

*taqsim*: āhārikī kī      jā' a' a ānimākan  
*miyān*: āhah hāhāhay jā' a kā nimākan

which is characterized rather by divergence in distribution. This suggests somewhat more strongly the likelihood of difference in melodic contour, especially when there is also a degree of variation in the following word element. It must, however, be conceded that despite such examples the internal evidence from the verse settings for contrast between *taqsim* and *miyān* constituting a standard feature of song structure is by no means overwhelming. In most cases the differences revealed are minor, and would be as readily interpretable in terms of slight variation of the same melodic contour as in the substitution of another. (There is, of course, no indication of whether such variation might have significant contrast attached to it by taking place at, say, a markedly higher pitch level.)

Rather more convincing is an argument of a general order derived from a systematic contrast in the presentation of material. It has been suggested with regard to *awwal* that melodic identity with the *taqsim* may be deduced from the frequent lack of any indication of the specifics of the setting: often, as in 70a above, no more than the first few words of the text are given, pointing to a literal repeat of the melodic material of the previous hemistich. But such is not the case with the *miyān*: however similar to the *taqsim* it may appear, it is never truncated but always written out with its full complement of prolongation syllables. The same logic would suggest, therefore, that non-identity was the norm, and the formal abstractions presented below consequently assume that *miyān* and *taqsim* were sufficiently differentiated to be deemed contrastive. It would also suggest that the origin of the term *bāzgašt* ('return') might be found in the resumption of the modal and/or register norms of the pre-*miyān* sections that it embodies. But however attractive, such an explanation fails to account for the fact that the *bāzgašt* is also a standard feature of pieces that have no *miyān*; and that in those that do, the reappearance of earlier melodic material after the *miyān* occurs already in the *awwal* section preceding the *bāzgašt*.

Considered in the light of the other song types, none of the three additional sections exhibited by the two *mustazād* examples, *mustahall*, *sarband*, and *tarannum* (of which 2 may provisionally be viewed as a subdivision), would appear to be an obligatory element, although normally at least one such section would be included. All three are predominantly syllabic, and *mustahall*, as its name ('beginning') suggests, is an initial section preceding the onset of the text setting, while *tarannum* and *sarband* normally first appear between *taqsim* and *awwal*, either singly or together. If a second *tarannum* appears before the

*bāzgašt* it is normally not a repeat of the first, but a *tarannum* or *sarband* (more frequently the latter) appearing after it will normally be a repeat of one preceding (*tarannum* and *sarband* are not easily distinguished, and the nature of the differences between them, if any, will be discussed in 2.3.3).

It will be observed in the transcription of 70a above that there is no entry after the last section heading: a previous *tarannum* was obviously to be repeated. But even if the first *tarannum* is much the more likely candidate, both because of its position next to *taqsim* = *awwal*, and because it ends with a verse fragment, a common way of concluding a piece, it is still not absolutely clear which one is meant, and this raises the general question of the degree of explicitness, at the level of form, of what is recorded in NO. Could the repetition of sections elsewhere be so obvious as not to require even the inclusion of the relevant heading? Could *awwal*, for example, refer not merely to repetition of the *taqsim* setting with the substitution of the text of H2, but also to repetition of any surrounding material, in this instance the preceding *mustahall* and the following *tarannum* (with in 2 substitution of the relevant segment of H2)? In what follows it will be assumed that such was not normally the case. Systematic repetition of the *mustahall* certainly seems unlikely, despite occasional instances of *mustahall* material being incorporated into later syllable sections, for a major structural difference would result: when occurring before the *taqsim* the *mustahall* is, by definition, not preceded by any other section, and certainly not by a syllable section; but any recurrence before *awwal* would normally, as in 70a, result in the juxtaposition of two textually undifferentiated syllable sections (to which may be added that in the *firūdāšt* transcribed in 2.1.3.2 the inclusion of the *sarband* after *awwal* would yield a sequence of three such sections). However, with regard to the material following the *taqsim*, in the case of 70a *tarannum* and 2, the position is less clear, any conclusion correspondingly more tentative. One can adduce in favour of omission the argument that if the sections between *taqsim* and *awwal* formed a normal part of a repetition block, the final *tarannum* entry in 70a would be redundant, and further evidence pointing in the same direction is provided by the *qawl* transcribed in 2.3.1.2, for if repetition after *awwal* of any material following the *taqsim* were standard, there would again be no need for the *tarannum* to reappear. On the other hand, the possibility cannot be excluded that we are provided here, exceptionally, with material present in performance but for which written representation would normally be considered unnecessary.

It has been argued that there are two differing, indeed opposed, indications of large-scale melodic repetition. One is the writing out in full of H2 with exactly or almost exactly the same number, type and distribution of prolongation syllables as in the setting of H1; the other, applicable to both verse and syllable sections, is the omission of all details of the setting, so that the heading can hardly be taken as other than an instruction to go back to, and

repeat, an earlier corresponding section. Evidence for internal repetition within sections is not available in the same way, and the abstractions of formal structure essayed below rely on what can only remain an assumption, namely, that extensive repetition of syllable material<sup>41</sup> implies melodic repetition. Consideration will be given, therefore, to smaller-scale repetition within sections and to the recurrence of parts of sections elsewhere as well as to repetition of larger units. Accordingly, the *bāzgašt* of 70a will be described as having an internal a + a + b structure, and the exact reprise of the latter part of the *taqsim* in the second section of the first *tarannum* will be taken as a further instance of internal repetition.

If to the assumption concerning repetition of syllable material we add the corollary that clearly different syllable material implies melodic non-repetition, the form of these two *mustazād* pieces may be summarized in the first instance as:

6b:	<i>mustahall</i>	p	70a:	<i>mustahall</i>	p
	<i>taqsim</i>	q		<i>taqsim</i>	q
		r			r
	<i>sarband</i>	s		<i>tarannum</i>	s
		r <sup>42</sup>		2	r
	<i>awwal</i>	q			t
		r		<i>awwal</i>	q
	<i>bāzgašt</i>	t			r
	<i>sarband</i>	s		<i>miyān</i>	u
		r		<i>tarannum</i>	v
				<i>awwal</i>	q
					r
				<i>bāzgašt</i>	w
					w
					x
				<i>awwal</i>	q
					r
				<i>tarannum</i>	s <sup>43</sup>
				(2	r
					t)

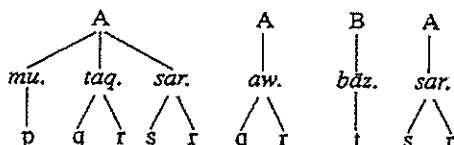
<sup>41</sup> 'Extensive' is, admittedly, an imprecise term; the suggestion is that with reference, say, to the *bāzgašt* of the *tarāna* transcribed in 2.3.1.2, the first two lines may be so considered, while the initial repetition of *tannan* {*tan*} in the third line may not.

<sup>42</sup> The *sarband* concludes here, oddly, with the text of the end of H2 rather than H1: it would be reasonable to assume a simple anticipatory slip.

<sup>43</sup> Or possibly v, which would then end the piece.

Because of the importance, demonstrated by its ubiquity, of the *bāzgašt*, it is reasonable, as suggested above, to consider it a unit on the same level as the principal verse sections setting each hemistich. If these are labelled as primary formal elements under which may be subsumed any section occurring before the onset of the next primary element, and the sections are identified at an intermediate level, the following schematization results:

6b:



70a:

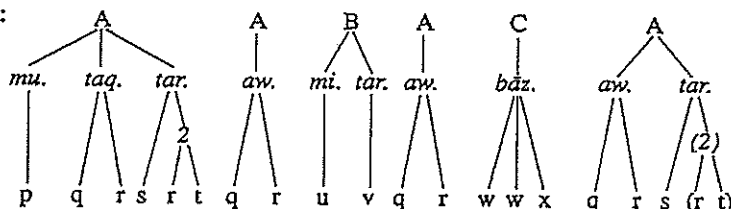


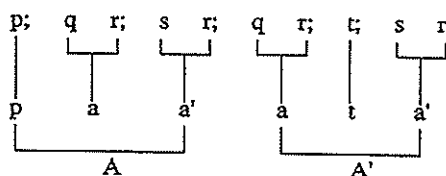
Figure 3

If it is correct to conclude that sections not explicitly named did not in fact recur, it will be observed that a common feature of these two structures is the reduction in extent of the ritornello-like A block on subsequent appearances, in each of which it is shorn of its preceding *mustahall*, while in its other pre-final occurrences it also loses the following *sarband* or *tarannum* section, and in its final manifestation in 6b is even reduced to no more than the *sarband* element containing only a fragmentary part of the poetic text. Such A A B A abstractions - however familiar - are therefore deceptive and of only limited usefulness. Being determined mechanically by the onset of verse-dominated sections, they can take account neither of the possible variations in the number of components in each block nor of any recurrence of material from one section to another, in relation to which they are fundamentally arbitrary. Small-scale repetition sometimes provides confirmation of their structural appropriateness, but by no means always: an element first appearing in A may, indeed, recur in B, so that on occasion rather different patterns may be discerned. Formal abstraction derived from what appears to be the distribution of melodic sections may therefore not coincide with that related to the positioning of the verse. The



structure of the above pieces, for example, could just as legitimately be schematized as:

6b:



70a:

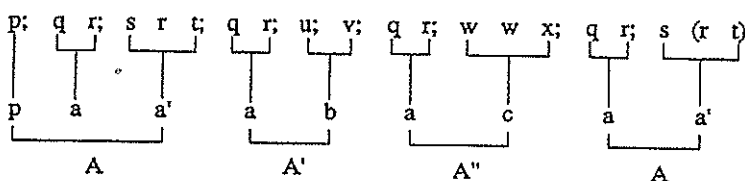


Figure 4

But different large-scale abstractions could also be thought valid, from which it follows that they may be of doubtful usefulness, especially when, as here, the contrastive function of *miyān* and *bāzgašt* that is shown more clearly at the intermediate level becomes smudged.

### 2.3.2.2. *firūdāšt*

Having started with 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's innovatory fifth and final *nawba* movement, we may conveniently proceed on a backward course and find that in the *firūdāšt*, which functions as the final movement in the great majority of *nawbas* and supplies, therefore, a greater number of examples, the general outlines sketched above are adhered to.

In the seven one-line settings the sequence *taqsimlawwalbāzgašt* is universal. Most but not all start with a *mustahall*, all include a further element or elements between *taqsim* and *awwal*, and all conclude after the *bāzgašt* with the repeat of a previous element. A schematic summary of the section lay-out of five of them is given in fig. 5. It will be noted that *awwal* concludes the piece only when there is no earlier *sarband*.

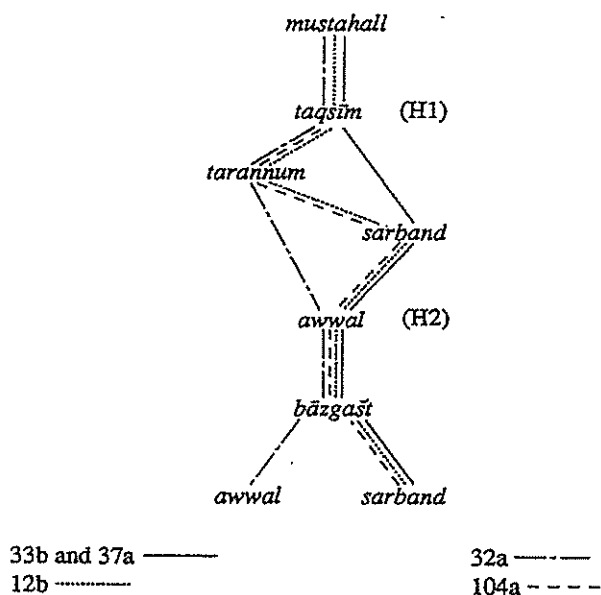


Figure 5.

The internal repeat patterns are similar to those encountered above, and may be illustrated by reference to 12b. If, for the moment, we retain the A A B A abstraction relatable to the onset of the verse sections and the *bāzgašt*, it will again be seen that there is a selective reduction in A on its second and third appearances, the two having, indeed, only one element in common. The alternative abstraction added below might consequently be thought more informative:

12b:

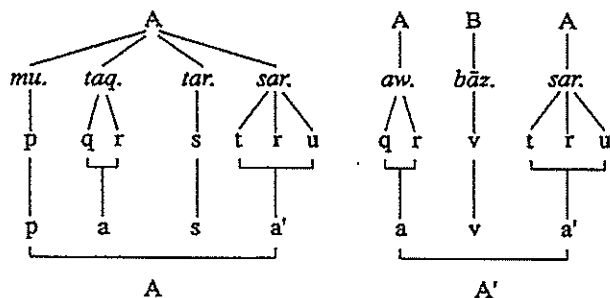


Figure 6

NO provides only one example of a two-line *firūdāšt* setting (69b, transcribed in 2.3.1.2), the most striking feature of which is the absence of the *miyān* section with which H3 is normally associated. Its structure differs little, in consequence, from that of the one-line example: since identity may be presumed between *taqsim* and *awwal*, it follows that the melodic material of *taqsim* 1 is repeated for H3 and that the same material as manifested in *taqsim* 2 is again repeated for H4. The *t* after *bāzgašt* may be identified as an abbreviation of *takrār*, indicating repetition of the preceding material, and consequently what follows *t* is also part of the *bāzgašt*, which therefore again has an a + a + b internal structure. The repeat of the *sarband* is only partially indicated (as elsewhere NO merely completes the line in which the section heading occurs) but it was certainly meant to be reproduced whole. (One may again note in relation to a text-based A A B A analysis that from the range of elements subsumed under the first A block the other A sections make different choices.) The form of the piece may be stated as:

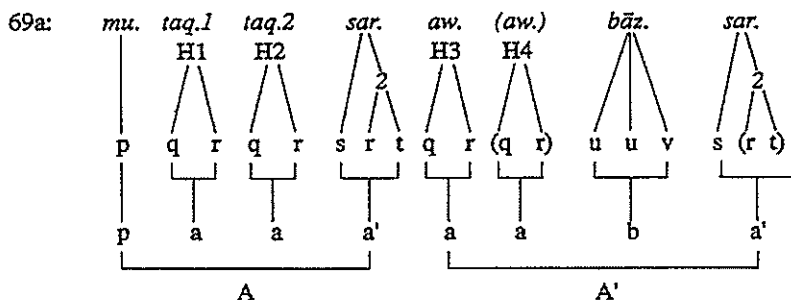


Figure 7

That omission of the *miyān* is not, however, a characteristic of the form is demonstrated by G: 244a, another two-line setting. This has no *mustahall*, but although its terminology for the internal sections is slightly different its formal structure is otherwise virtually the same as that of the two-line *mustazād*.

### 2.3.2.3. *tarāna*

If it is impossible to generalize about the two-line *firūdāšt* form from these two examples, there should be fewer difficulties with the *tarāna*, where the total number of examples increases to 13, four being two-line settings. But we may begin again with the one-line settings, which exhibit, as might be expected, a slightly greater degree of structural variety. Taking again a sample of five, it emerges fairly clearly that the *tarāna* conforms to the patterns already established.

What variation there is involves in the first place not the order of the sections but the number included, so that we encounter a rather wider range of concentration and extension. At one extreme, for example, we have in 91b a setting apparently consisting of fractionally less than the minimum suggested above, for there are only three section headings, *taqsim*, *awwal*, and *bāzgašt*. The reduction is, however, minimal, for the *bāzgašt* has a final subdivision (2) consisting of the final two-thirds of H2 (rather than the complete hemistich a repeat of *awwal* would have), followed by the same word element that concludes the *taqsim* (and *awwal*). At the other extreme we have in 103b a piece which unexpectedly adds two further sections at the end, being made up of the sequence *taqsim/sarband/awwal/bāzgašt/sarband/naql-i digar/sarband*. The new section, *naql-i digar*, resembles the *bāzgašt* in being an extended syllable section, and may well have been considered of comparable importance or, indeed, equivalent to it, for *digar* ('another') evidently points to a relationship with an earlier section, and while *naql* ('move') is not directly linked to any other term it at least bears some slight resemblance as a metaphor to *bāzgašt* ('return'). In the remaining pieces, however, we find the same sequence of elements as before: *taqsim/(tarannum)/sarband/awwal/bāzgašt/sarband*, with patterns of internal subdivision and repetition akin to those previously encountered.

None of the one-line examples contains an initial *mustahall* section, and this would appear to provide a potential distinction between the *tarāna* and the *firūdāšt*, in which it is normally present. But that the absence of a *mustahall*, even if possibly characteristic of the one-line category, is not an invariable feature of the *tarāna*, is shown by its presence in three of the two-line settings. The one which lacks a *mustahall* also has no *miyān*, but introduces, apparently as a section heading, the term *taqil*. However, as *taqil* has this function nowhere else, we may appeal to its presence as a label in sequences of rhythmic cycle changes and interpret it here as indicating such a change within a section. The structure of the piece closely resembles that of the *firūdāšt* displayed in fig. 7, and the same A A' abstraction could be derived from it, although one may note here that even if the *sarband* ends with a textual echo of the verse in *taqsim* I, the nature of the prolongation syllables is such as to indicate that the setting was melodically different (in the *firūdāšt* the *sarband*, which is to be repeated in full at the end, contains no verse element).

Of the two *tarānas* which do have a *miyān* the more complex is 172b, which also contains a *mustahall*. One may see from the abstraction of this piece given in fig. 8 that although the major text blocks follow in the same sequence as before, the pattern of repetition between sections is in some respects different: thus the *mustahall* recurs as the first (repeated) segment of the *bāzgašt*, and the repeat of the *sarband* is followed, unusually, by a further repeat of *awwal*. The latter feature may have been triggered by both the brevity of the *sarband* and the

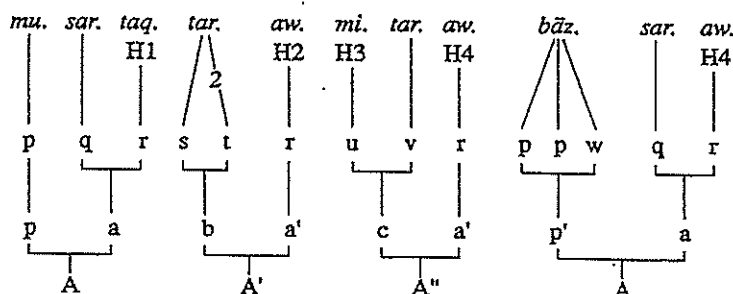


Figure 8

absence from it of any verse element, attributable, no doubt, to the fact that it first appears, quite surprisingly, before the *taqsīm*. (Also surprising in this piece is that the text in the *taqsīm* is presented without any elaboration whatever: a simple oversight, possibly (see 2.4.3) but, if not, the striking difference between the *taqsīm* and the *miyān*, in which the prolongation syllables outnumber the verse, should be interpreted as a clear indication of melodic differentiation.)

### 2.3.2.4. *gazal*

The structural patterns previously encountered are again readily discernible in this form, of which there are 21 examples in all. Most begin with a *mustahall*, so that in this respect the *gazal* appears closer to the *firūdāšt* than to the *tarāna*, but otherwise there seem to be no general features requiring comment, and attention may accordingly be confined to the examples that appear anomalous, or introduce elements not hitherto encountered.

Among the one-line *gazals* two are exceptional, presenting us with the following sequences of sections:

11b:     *mustahall*  
           *taqsīm*  
           *tarannum*  
           *sarband*  
           *bāzgašt*  
           *sarband*

68b:     *mustahall*  
           *taqsīm*  
           2  
           3  
           *bāzgašt*  
           1  
           2  
           3

The major oddity in both is the absence of any setting of H2 (which could, in the absence of *awwal*, appear in the *sarband*, but in 11b does not). The possibility of the poetic text becoming so reduced in importance that H2 could simply be dispensed with cannot be discounted completely (despite its being given in the normal display of the text immediately after the heading), but more likely would seem to be a lapse on the part of the compiler, the automatic insertion of *awwal* followed by the first word or two of H2 before the *bāzgašt* being simply forgotten. However, it should be added that in 68b there is a particular feature that could be adduced in support of the integrity of the incomplete setting as it stands, namely, that the second 3 is a repeat of the first, the verse element it contains being the end of H1 and not H2, as one would expect if an *awwal* setting of H2 had been included before the *bāzgašt* in the normal way.

The use of numerals in this piece indicates quite clearly that their function is to mark off further subdivisions within a section. Particularly revealing here is the fact that the text of H1 is only partially set within the (first segment of the) *taqsim*: 2 consists of a word + syllable insert after which the text setting is resumed and completed in 3, which therefore has to be considered an integral part of the *taqsim* rather than an independent section.

Given that 2 and 3 in the *bāzgašt* of 68b are exact repeats of 2 and 3 in the *taqsim*, the A + B structure determined solely by the sequence of explicit verse block + *bāzgašt* section labels would be singularly inappropriate here, and the following schematization may be preferred:

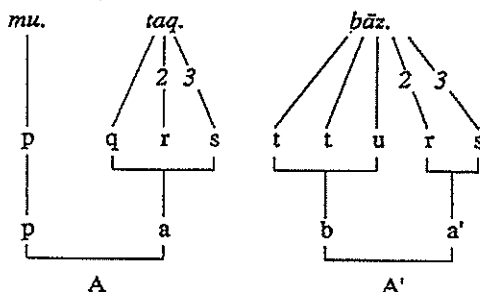


Figure 9

Similar unorthodoxies may be found in the two-line *gazals*, where a further two examples may be considered:

14a:	<i>mustahall</i>		94a:	<i>mustahall</i>	
	<i>taqṣīm</i>	(H1)		<i>taqṣīm</i>	(H1)
	<i>tarannum</i>			<i>tarannum</i>	
	<i>awwal</i>	(H2)		<i>awwal</i>	(H2)
				<i>bāzgašt</i>	
	<i>miyān</i>	(H3)		<i>āwīza</i>	(H3)
				2	
	<i>awwal</i>	(H4)		<i>mustahall</i>	

The former is unique in that it is truncated, having no *bāzgašt* (+ following section). As it stands there is of course nothing exceptional about the pattern of repetition it presents: it conforms exactly to the structure associated with one-line settings. Audiences were presumably surprised less by its shape than by its brevity or sudden termination, coming to an end at a point where at least one and normally two or more further sections would be anticipated. 94a appears rather more eccentric, embarking on the *bāzgašt* before, rather than after, the setting of H3, and compounding the omission of H4 with the unprecedented repetition of the *mustahall* in place of the normal *sarband* or (less commonly) *tarannum* or *awwal*. Impossible to interpret with any degree of confidence, unfortunately, is a further unexpected feature, the use in place of the normal *miyān* of the section heading *āwīza* for the setting of H3. This term refers elsewhere to the setting of a further line or two of verse extra to the main song text and normally totally unrelated to it,<sup>44</sup> being for instance in a different rhyme and metre, and thus indicates the beginning of what may be thought of as the second part of a compound song. Unless a simple slip, it might be conjectured that its use here could refer to an unusual feature of melodic structure whereby, instead of following whatever norms of differentiation were characteristic of the *miyān*, the setting reverted, after the contrast provided by the premature *bāzgašt*, to something closer to the *taqṣīm*. As for the repetition of the *mustahall* at the end of the piece, one might further conjecture (but again without a shred of supporting evidence) that it was to preface a repetition of *awwal*, setting H4.

### 2.3.2.5. *qawl*

This was by far the most successful of the *nawba* movements in surviving its decline and breakdown, and provides us with no less than 54 examples, many of which are presented not in the context of a complete or would-be complete *nawba*, but either as independent pieces or accompanied by a following *ḡazal* only. As one would by now predict, in the majority of cases the *qawl* conforms to familiar patterns of structure, while the relatively large number of pieces

<sup>44</sup> Its literal meaning, 'pendant', is thus wholly appropriate here.

allows for a greater degree of variation within a range extending from a bare minimum (*taqsim/awwal/bāzgašt/awwal*, exhibited in 112a) to quite complex sequences of sections.

With regard to the majority of one-line settings, the only general comment that needs to be made is that the introductory syllabic *mustahall* is usually omitted, the piece starting therefore immediately with the *taqsim* setting of H1. One may note in consequence a possible tendency in the normal four-movement *nawba* to prefer alternating omission and inclusion of the *mustahall*, the first and third movements being more frequently without, the second and fourth with.

Unusual features consist of unexpected repetitions, sections occurring in positions where they have not hitherto been encountered, and formal extension beyond the point at which pieces normally end. In 1b, for example, we find a *bāzgašt* followed by two *sarband* sections, although as the second is identical with an earlier *tarannum* possibly no more than a simple mistake in labelling is involved. However, no similar explanation lies ready to hand for the insertion, in 101a, of a *tarannum* between the *mustahall* and the *taqsim*, so that two seemingly undifferentiated syllable sections are juxtaposed. The same two sections also appear in unexpected guise in 67a, which begins with a *tarannum*, while the *mustahall* is delayed until just before the *bāzgašt*. Whether its appearance here can be related to the equally unusual omission of *awwal* from this position is not at all clear. Since both *mustahall* and *bāzgašt* are syllabic it might be supposed that the material labelled unconventionally as *mustahall* could have been considered part of the *bāzgašt*, which is often of considerable length, and may contain internal subdivisions, unless the *mustahall* were normally characterized by particular features not visible from the text. In any event, assuming that the use of the term *mustahall* here is deliberate, it may reasonably be surmised that the *tarannum* label could have been applied to the initial syllable section merely to differentiate it from the following *mustahall*.

Whereas *awwal* on its first appearance normally refers to the setting of H2 to the same melody as H1, in 68a it denotes a repeat of H1 which is then followed by *taqsim* 2. But as this just gives the text devoid of all prolongation syllables repetition is again to be assumed. Further repetition occurs within sections, as part of the second *tarannum* is included within the final *bāzgašt*, the form of the piece being:

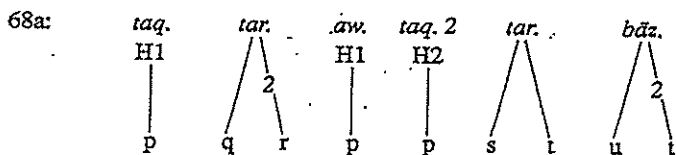


Figure 10



Thus although the end does not present new material, there is an unusual absence of a repeat of all or part of one of the sections associated with the setting of H1 or H2.

Formal extension may involve a feature already encountered in 2.3.2.3, the addition of a further large-scale syllable section called *naql-i dīgar*, the relative dimensions of which reach their extreme in 108a, where it occupies 13 whole lines of text as against a total of eight lines for all the other sections (repeats excluded). An even greater degree of extension is exhibited in 54b, where the verse sections are considerably outnumbered by the syllable ones. The setting is, in effect, double, proceeding normally through a *bāzgašt* on to an additional *naql-i dīgar*, and then starting again, with the same verse sections as before but new syllable sections:

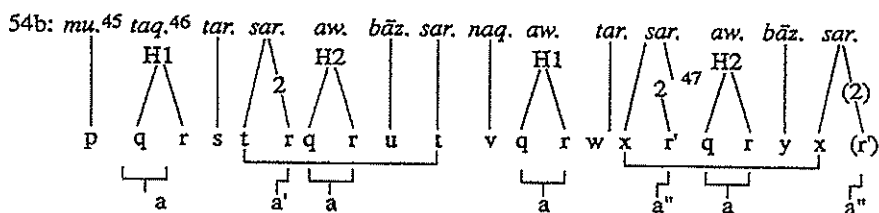


Figure 11

The second *bāzgašt* shows certain resemblances to the first, but not enough to make it probable that it repeats much melodic material. For all the apparent complexity, it is thus clear that we are dealing here with what is, essentially, an amplification of the basic ritornello structure in which cohesion is reinforced by further repetitions within each half.

Two-line *qawls*, as expected, generally conform to the basic scheme whereby the same melodic material is used for H1, H2, and H4, while the *miyān* provides contrasting material for H3. This structure may be illustrated by 8a: *mustahall/taqsim* (H1)/*tarannum/awwal* (H2)/*miyān* (H3)/*tarannum/sarband/taqsim* (H4)/*bāzgašt/sarband*. Those that depart from this pattern in one respect or another also reflect, directly or indirectly, features that have already been

<sup>45</sup> The heading is actually *mustahall wa-taqsim*, but the verse does not begin until the next section.

<sup>46</sup> The heading is actually *dar awwal*, but this clearly corresponds to the normal *taqsim*. The setting given here is not wholly identical with that found in *awwal* but, as confirmed by the minor differences between NO and G in the representation of the same piece, repeated material is often given with very slight variations which suggest hesitations as how best to represent the sung form rather than minute variations in the setting itself, and one may suppose this to be the case here, except possibly for one short passage where the first version has *yamikiki* and the second *yakah ami'iki*, the divergence being slightly more than is usual in repetitions elsewhere.

<sup>47</sup> Probably to be equated with the previous 2, but the identification is not certain.

encountered, so that detailed analysis is unnecessary. Of interest is 105b, in which, as in 68b discussed in 2.3.2.4, the setting of each hemistich is interrupted by syllable material. There the whole was grouped within a single section (*taqsim*/2/3); here it is split between two, *taqsim* (first half of the hemistich) and *tarannum* (syllable subdivision + second half), but with nothing to indicate whether the difference in terminology is of significance. In 3a a further term is introduced, *bayt*, but as this is elsewhere used in combination with *āwīza*, it is possibly here an equivalent to it, although its function is certainly not identical with that of the *āwīza* in 94a discussed in 2.3.2.4, for it replaces not the *miyān* but the *awwal* heading for the setting of H4 that would be expected to follow it.<sup>48</sup> If the melodic material of the *bayt* section is assumed not to repeat that of the *taqsim*, and the omission of any reference to H2 is remedied,<sup>49</sup> the patterns of repetition in this piece appear as follows:

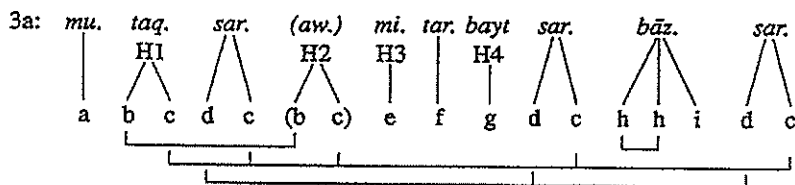


Figure 12

The normal level of repetition gained elsewhere through the reappearance of *awwal* after the *miyān* is thus here supplied by the recurrences of the *sarband* and by the inclusion within it of a verse element.

Although common, such an element is by no means always present in the *sarband*, but its presence or absence does not seem to be of significance for the use of the *sarband* in conclusion. A striking example of a piece ending without any final reference back to the verse setting is 8a, in which the pattern of interlocking internal repetitions, displayed in fig. 13, is only partly dependent on the recurrence of the verse sections, and given that only one of the last five sections is a verse setting (and that a repeat) it might reasonably be argued that in such cases the musical form was largely independent of whatever might be thought to be the requirements of the verse, in other words that it was not viewed as aesthetically subordinate.

<sup>48</sup> A further use of the term *bayt* is illustrated by the *qawl* on 172a. Here the *tarannum* section interrupts the first *taqsim*, and *bayt* is used to mark the resumption of the verse setting (as in 105b, where the resumption is, however, unmarked).

<sup>49</sup> Whereas it was previously suggested that the setting of only H1 of a single line was conceivable, even if unlikely, the omission of H2 in a song that goes on to set a second line is not. We may reasonably assume here scribal error.

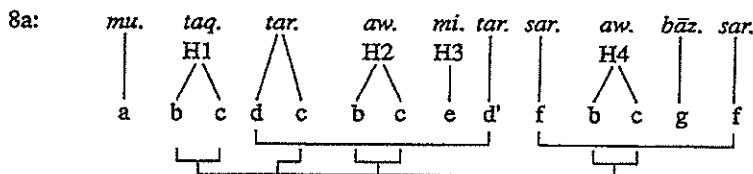


Figure 13

## 2.3.2.6. Other forms

After the *nawba* pieces at the head of the mode blocks in NO come others referred to as *čār đarb* or '*amal*',<sup>50</sup> terms which, whatever their predictive value for the rhythmic cycle employed, should be considered, as noted above, as potential form indicators. There are, in all, 15 with the *čār đarb* heading. The great majority are two-line settings in no way different, with regard to the identity of the sections they contain and the manner in which these are combined, from two-line settings assigned to the forms discussed above. The omission of a *mustahall* appears to be standard, although, again, it is not rigorously excluded, since one four-line setting has one, and in one of the two-line settings a *mustahall* may be present incognito, for 115b strangely begins with two sections labelled *taqsīm*. The first is, however, syllabic, the verse beginning only in the second: the disguise is most probably an involuntary one, the compiler simply anticipating the following *taqsīm* heading and substituting it for the normal *mustahall*. As no striking irregularities or novel section headings are to be found, we may restrict comment to just two pieces, 17a and 38a. The former exhibits an unusual ordering of familiar elements. After the initial *taqsīm* 1 comes a further *taqsīm* (equivalent to *awwal*), which appears to be a virtual repeat of the first in lay-out, followed, rather than, as usual, preceded, by *tarannum* and *sarband*. In consequence, the *sarband*, which, when coming after the *tarannum*, normally ends with a fragment of verse echoing the end of the first *taqsīm*, here quotes the end of H2. The latter is marked by a higher degree of repetition than usual, since as the *sarband* echoes as much as half of the hemistich, this occurs no less than six times in all. The only sections not repeated are the *miyān* and the *bāzgašt*:

<sup>50</sup> And in one case *kulliyāt*. But this may be considered less a form than the extreme manifestation of a compositional process, and will be examined later as a particular instance of the general phenomenon of modal and rhythmic change. It is instructive that the one piece recorded in full to which the term *kulliyāt* is applied is assigned to the *qawl* form.

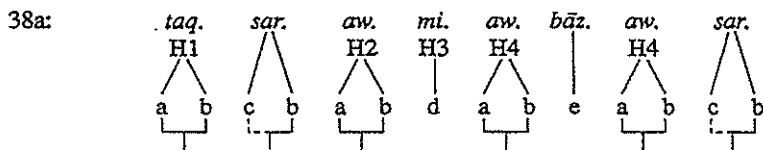


Figure 14

The *'amal* category, as already noted, constitutes over half of the whole collection. It naturally exhibits greater variety, but the one and two-line settings still conform in their basic structures to the norms encountered elsewhere. The chief benefit of the vastly greater number of examples is, rather, that it allows us to explore more fully the characteristics of settings of three and more lines, especially as these appear to be more typical.

One-line *'amals* in particular are relatively few in number, and need not detain us. With regard to two-line settings, the only generalization worth making is that, as with the *čār qarḅ*, the *mustahall* is generally omitted. Most of the variations that occur have already been noted in the discussion of the other forms, so that a detailed account would be superfluous, but there are nevertheless one or two features that have not been touched on before. Thus in 40a the setting of H2 is marked not by *awwal* but by *sarband*, previously encountered only as a syllable section (although often ending with a short verse segment repeated from a previous section). The implication might be that the setting differs somewhat from that of the *taqsīm*, if so yielding an exceptionally long string of sections (*taqsīm* (H1)/*tarannum/sarband* (H2)/*tarannum/miḡān* (H3) before any repeat. A rather unusual pattern, in which the *sarband* again becomes a verse section, while its syllable function is taken over elsewhere, is supplied by 146b, which exhibits in addition the peculiarity of a *miḡān* containing an immediate repeat of the setting of H3, and then going on unexpectedly to begin the setting of H4, but ceding the rest of it to the following section. The syllable contrast with the verse *sarband* is supplied by a section given a heading not previously encountered, *hung*,<sup>51</sup> the complete sequence being: *taqsīm/sarband* (H1)/*hung/sarband* (H2)/*miḡān* (H3 + beginning H4)/*sarband* (remainder of H4)/*hung/sarband* (H4)/*bāzgaṣṭi/sarband* (H4).

Even if relatively rare, the *hung* would not appear to be restricted to any particular form. In terms of typology and distribution it aligns itself with the

<sup>51</sup> It might be tempting to read the letter sequence *hmk/g* as *hang*, and relate it to *āhang* 'melody' (cf. Jung 1989: 202). But *hang* exists as an independent word, if with no musical meanings, and in any case there are one or two occasions (e.g. NO: 44b) on which the explicit vowelless *hmk/g* is given. The normal meaning of *hung* is 'power': its implications as a technical term are not clear.

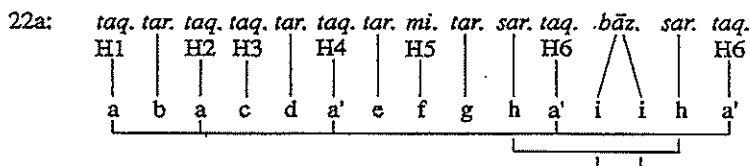
*tarannum* and *sarband* in that it is a syllable section normally occurring between *taqsim* and *awwal*. The principal difference lies not so much in the general brevity of the *hung*, which the others on occasion match, but in its particular phonetic consistency: it is restricted to a narrow range of consonants which never appears in the *tarannum*, and which when it occurs in the *sarband* is always juxtaposed with material drawing on the normal, wider range. A further instance of a *hung* is provided by 26a in which, as sometimes with the *tarannum* elsewhere, it is an insertion within, or interruption of, the *taqsim*, occurring before the completion of H1 and in fact containing itself, after its characteristic syllable material (with intercalated word elements), the end of H1.

### 2.3.2.7. Longer settings 1

We may now consider 'amal pieces of more than two lines, but with reference to equivalent settings in the other forms also where appropriate since, as might be expected, there appears to be nothing in the structure of pieces with longer verse texts that might be considered specific to one or other of the forms already encountered.

In general, it may be said that a lengthening of the text (to say four or six lines) does not result in a doubling or tripling of the average length of a two-line setting. Economy of scale is achieved in two ways: by greater brevity in the verse sections, i.e. reducing the degree of elaboration, and by a relative reduction in the number of syllable sections, resulting either from omission or from replacement, for example converting sections such as the *sarband*, elsewhere normally syllabic, into verse sections. The *mustahall* is also normally dispensed with, each piece starting directly with the setting of H1.

As a first group we may take pieces where the verse text is a single block, and consider a sample of five three-line settings. One, 22a, is written out with all its section heads, the verse sections with but one exception all being labelled *taqsim*. The distribution of the prolongation syllables suggests that the setting of H3 differs melodically from that of H1 and H2, so that the structure of the whole may be defined as follows:



(a and a' may be identical, but a' is certainly written out with a slight final prolongation absent in a).

Figure 15

The *sarband* is here exceedingly brief, so that the run of four new sections (e-h) without intervening repetition is not quite as daunting as it looks: it is also compensated for by the high level of subsequent repetition.

The other four pieces employ a form of shorthand already noted elsewhere, jumping from *awwal* (H3) straight to *miyān* (H5). In the context of one and two-line settings it was suggested (in 2.3.2.1) that omission of a given section heading from a potential repeat sequence most probably meant that that section was indeed omitted. Here, however, it is clear that there must have been at least a repeat of the verse section relating to H2, in order to provide a setting for H4, and it is therefore possible that the *awwal* heading for H3 functioned as a signal that all the preceding material was to be repeated. The sections are distributed as set out in figs. 16 and 17:

From beginning to *awwal* (H3):

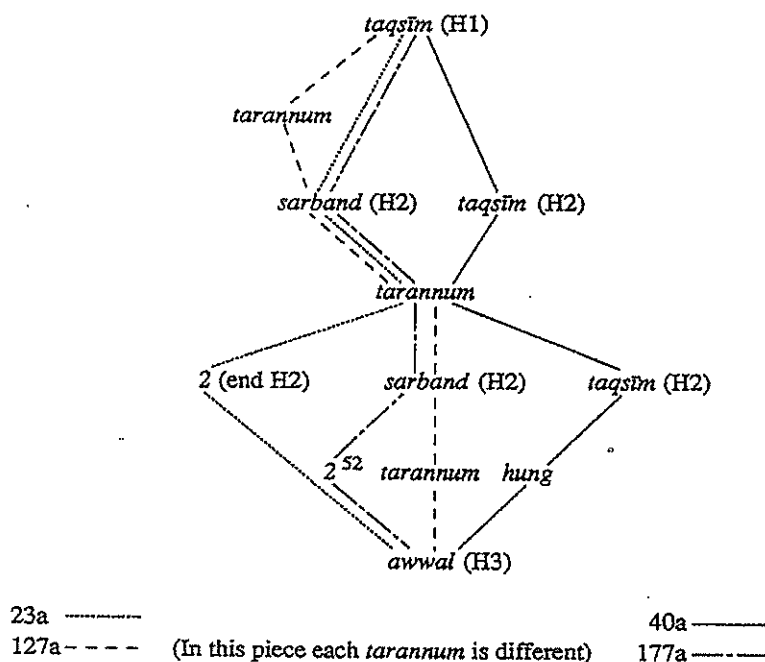


Figure 16

<sup>52</sup> A brief syllable section similar to a *hung* in its phonetic consistency.

(Of interest in fig. 16 is that in each case the setting of H2 is repeated before that of H3 is introduced.)

From *miyān* to the end:

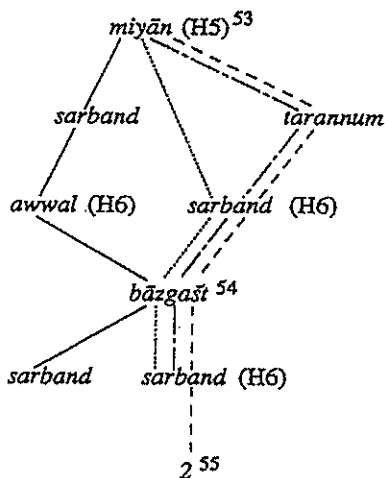


Figure 17

It will be noted that the general pattern of repetition in the verse setting is not the same as that in 22a above and, indeed, provides the main point of difference between, on the one hand, the two and three-line settings and, on the other, those of more than three lines, the former having normally the same melodic material for the first two hemistiches, with fresh melodic material appearing in the *miyān* setting of H3, while in the latter the at least partly varied settings of H1 and H2 (the average degree of difference between them being, however, hard to establish) are repeated for H3 and H4 respectively, with the *miyān* being held back until H5.

Looked at from the end of the piece, of course, it could be claimed that the *miyān* does not change position, in each case being associated with the penultimate hemistich. But this ceases to be so if the number of lines increases beyond three: the significant change is the shift from H3 to H5, where the *miyān* remains in all the longer settings.

<sup>53</sup> In 40a the setting of H5 is repeated (within the *miyān*) after a short word insert.

<sup>54</sup> In 177a there is an internal repeat yielding the familiar a + a + b structure.

<sup>55</sup> A repeat of the second *tarannum* (after the first *sarband* (H2)).

Here we may consider first a sample of three four-line settings, the sections of which are distributed as set out in figs. 18 and 19:

From H1 to H4:

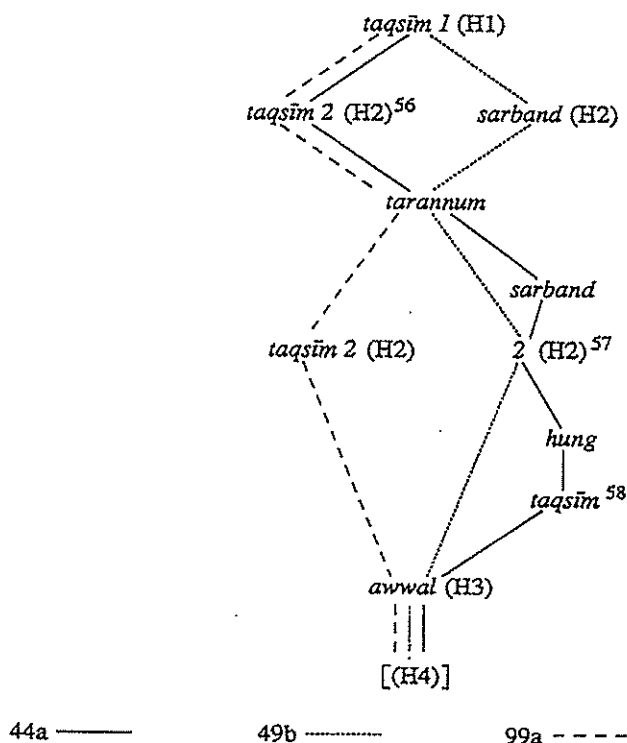


Figure 18

<sup>56</sup> In 99a the same as *taqsīm 1* (if with a slight difference at the end). The text may be reduced to a syllabic abstract to show more clearly the distribution of the prolongation syllables:

*taqsīm 1*: cv kakac cvo ikkrvc cvvcvkakac cvucākdākv cvv cvc cvcvv'ī'ī kī'ī'ī kīkī kīkī kīkī

*taqsīm 2*: cvvkākh cvo ikkrvc cvvcvkvkīkī cv cākdākv cvccvc cvcvv

The difference in vowel quality in the middle is caused by the preceding text vowel.

By the same criterion, in 44a *taqsīm 1* and *taqsīm 2* are probably not the same.

<sup>57</sup> In 44a the second half is a repeat of the setting in *taqsīm 2*, but the first half is different. In 49b only the second half of the hemistich is given.

<sup>58</sup> A repeat of *taqsīm 2*.



From H5 to H8:

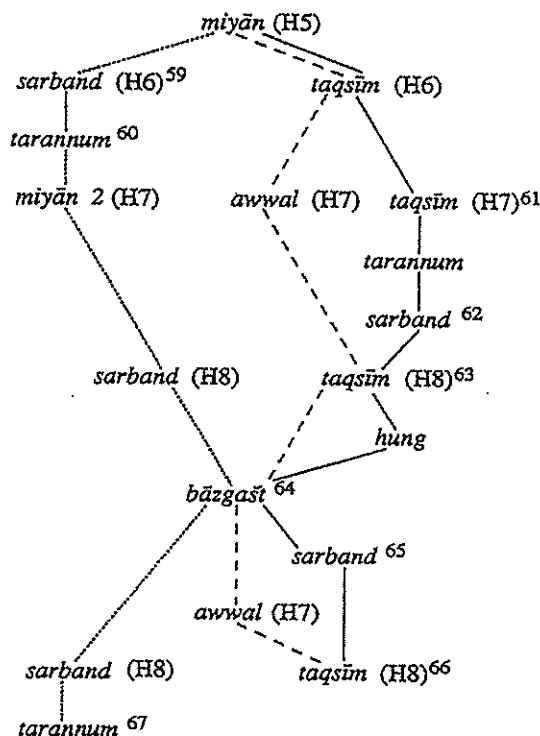


Figure 19

59 Similar to, and possibly identical with, the setting of H2.

60 A repeat of the earlier *tarannum*.

61 *taqsim* (H6) is probably the same as *taqsim 1*, *taqsim* (H7) is probably not.

62 A repeat of the earlier *sarband*.

63 In 44a probably the same as *taqsim 1*. 99a has no heading between *awwal* and *bāzgašt*, but a setting of H8 must presumably be understood.

64 In 44a there is an internal repeat yielding the familiar a + a + b structure.

65 A repeat of the earlier *sarband*.

66 There is again no entry in 99a, but it is difficult to imagine the piece ending with H7.

67 A repeat of the earlier *tarannum*.

The structures displayed here are broadly similar to those found in the three-line settings, there being again a tendency to repeat H2 before proceeding to H3. Although particular techniques of repetition differ (one may note in particular the occurrence of a second *miyān* in 49b), in each case the same broad strategy is adopted whereby two lines of text are set before the melodic contrast of the *miyān* is reached, and the remainder before the next major (and again presumably melodically independent) section, the *bāzgašt*, after which the final hemistich, with or without other material, recurs. What is not certain, however, is whether the difference in terminology for the setting of H2 is significant, *taqsim* being used when the melodic material for H2 was essentially a repeat (although possibly slightly altered) of that for H1, *sarband* when it was not. Such a distinction seems to be valid in some cases, but cannot be established in all, one obvious exception being 47b, in which the pattern of prolongation syllables for the setting of H2, headed *taqsim*, differs markedly from that found in H1.

Exceptions to, or perhaps more accurately further variations on, the above structural outline are, naturally, to be found, among the most interesting being 52b (which happens to be a *ḡazal*, although, as suggested above, the identity of the form is here unimportant). This proceeds normally as far as *awwal* (H3), followed, however, by a setting of H5 labelled not *miyān* but, unexpectedly, *bāzgašt*. If not a slip, the significance of this is not clear, especially as a normal syllabic *bāzgašt* occurs later, unless it implies an absence of particular features associated with the *miyān*. Repetition for the setting of H7 is then avoided by supplying fresh material designated as *āwīza*, a term which, as has been noted, is normally associated with a separate verse text. Here, possibly, it is associated with melodic rather than textual independence. Despite these variations, however, the structure of the piece is marked by a normal series of interlocking repetitions:

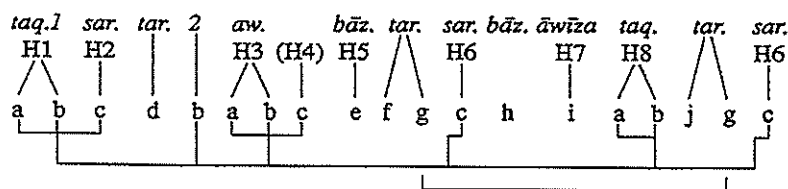


Figure 20

Five and six-line settings are fewer in number, but still hardly rareties. As above, the normal structure is for the treatment of the first line of the text to be repeated for the second (signalled by *awwal* (H3), with no mention of H4),

and for the *miyān* to be introduced as the setting of H5, with, therefore, a greater amount of verse remaining for subsequent handling. Some indication of how this was done may be gained from consideration of a sample of four pieces, three of five lines, and one of six. These suggest that one of two basic strategies was adopted: either to continue, with interruptions, the cyclical repetition of the melodic material originally introduced for H1 and H2; or to introduce new material for one hemistich which is then immediately repeated several times for the following hemistiches. The former option is taken in 42a and 62a: all but one of the post-*miyān* hemistiches is a melodic repeat, the exceptions being in 42a H7, the heading for which is *āwīza*, and in 62a, the six-line setting, H9, where it is *bāzgašt* - another instance of this normally syllabic section being employed for verse purposes to cope with the extra lines. Also presumably relatable to the length of the verse text in 62a is the fact that only one of the post-*miyān* sections is syllabic, a *tarannum* immediately preceding the final repeat, for H11 and H12, of the setting of H1 and H2. The slightly shorter text of 42a allows a freer alternation of verse and syllable sections including two, juxtaposed, both with the heading *sarband*. The overall structure has, as expected, the normal interlocking pattern of repetition:

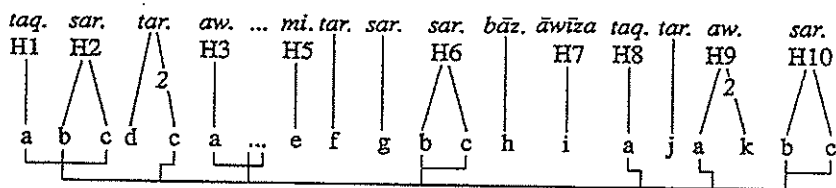


Figure 21

with which may be contrasted the structure of the other type, represented by 48b and 124a. In the latter the *miyān* heading is properly *miyān 1*, and the immediately ensuing settings of H6, H7, and H8 are headed simply 2, 3, and 4 respectively, being repeats of the *miyān*. The piece then concludes with a normal mix of syllable and verse sections, the latter again utilizing the material for H1 and H2 in the setting of H9 and H10. In 48b the extra verses are similarly soaked up by block repetition of new material, but beginning this time with H7 and going on to the end of the verse text in H10. Possibly because of its position (there only follows a single *sarband* section) this block has the collective heading *āwīza*. It is split into eight subsections, two per hemistich (marked by the punctuation symbol ∞), suggesting considerable (if not total) internal repetition, and as the text is incomplete and devoid of

prolongation syllables, it may well be, contrary to what appears to have been the norm, that here previous melodic material was called upon.

### 2.3.2.8. *şawt*

A further piece in which the term *āwīza* appears is categorized as a *şawt*, a form found in G but not in NO, and represented by two examples, one a three-line setting, the other, given in two versions, a nine-line setting.<sup>68</sup> As the heading conventions in G are not always the same as those in NO certain differences may be only apparent, but firm conclusions are difficult to draw, especially as the three-line setting could be incomplete. It consists of the heading *taqsim-i awwal* followed by a setting of H1, and then immediately by H2, the number and distribution of prolongation syllables suggesting that it is a repeat of H1, from which it deviates only in the substitution of a final word element for the equivalent number of prolongation syllables. There is then a syllable section (with no label) followed by 2, which introduces a repeat of the end of H2, given twice, each time with a different word element. The remainder of the page is blank, so that there is no indication of how H3-H6 would be set. If, however, the piece is complete as presented, it must mean that the material given was repeated for each line of verse, and that the *şawt* structure lacked both a *mīyān* and a *bāzgašt*, differing therefore radically from all the other song-types so far encountered.

The likelihood that this was so is strengthened by similar absences in the nine-line setting. On its first appearance this has three lines of verse followed by a further six lines, compressed to appear as three, headed *āwīza*. The setting begins with *taqsim-i awwal* (H1) and *tarannum* (syllable + end of H1) repeated as a block for H2 (*miḡluh* + *tarannum*), but then jumps straight to the *āwīza* (H7) followed by 2 (H8) and 3 (H9, H10), in each of which the setting appears to be the same, if with some slight variation at the end, and concludes with *taqsim-i awwal* (H3). This suggests strongly that the structure of the piece was one of alternating blocks, with internal repetition for each hemistich: A (H1, H2) B (H7-H10) A (H3, H4) B (H11-H14) A (H5, H6) B (H15-H18). (A possible final recurrence of all or part of A is nowhere indicated.) Confirmation is supplied by the lay-out of the verse in the second version, which is reordered in exactly this sequence. The various sections are differently headed (the term *āwīza* not being used) but the only change of substance is the omission of the *miḡluh* + *tarannum* block associated with H2 - a further demonstration of the nature of this material as an exact repeat of that for H1. It thus appears that the *şawt* is the one form that stands out as being structurally contrasted with the

<sup>68</sup> G: 162b (the three-line setting), 197b and 258b.

others, its very difference contributing, perhaps, to its evidently marginal status within the repertoire as a whole.

### 2.3.2.9. Longer settings 2

In so far as one can generalize from the above, in the *ṣawt* the term *āwīza* relates to a second, contrasting, block of melodic material and at the same time to the contrasting verse material it sets. In other forms it has been seen to have the function of designating, in longer settings, a post-*miyān* verse section or section block, usually, it may be assumed, with fresh melodic material, and an analogous use of the term has also been encountered in a shorter setting (2.3.2.4). Normally, however, *āwīza* (or *bayt-i āwīza*) is associated on the textual level with the contrast noted in the *ṣawt*, but with the crucial difference that it introduces an extension consisting of a further unrelated line or lines, normally in a different rhyme and/or metre, that is not segmented and inserted at various points in the setting of the preceding verse, but is set complete as a supplement to it. Thus 139b (a *čār dārb* but, as before, the identity of the form is unimportant) has two lines of text (a *rubā'ī*) followed by the heading *bayt-i āwīza* and a further two lines (another *rubā'ī*) in a different metre (but exceptionally - and incidentally - in the same rhyme), after which details of the setting are given under the following heads: *mustahall/taqsim* (H1)/*tarannum<sup>a</sup>/awwal* (H2)/*miyān* (H3)/*tarannum<sup>b</sup>/sarband/awwal* (H4)/*bāzgašt/āwīza* (H5)/2 (H6)/*miṭluh* (H7)/2 (end (H7))/3 (H8)/ *tarannum<sup>b</sup>/sarband/awwal* (H4). From this example not everything is clear, but at least one general point emerges: that the *āwīza* is not a straightforward continuation or second part of a setting sequence on a par with the first. Rather it is a separate block or interlude, however extended, after which comes a recurrence of earlier material, in this case three whole sections, the piece ending not with the final hemistich of the *āwīza* but with that of the first *rubā'ī*, which may thus reasonably be considered the primary verse text. The subordinate status of the *āwīza* is further reflected in the more compressed nature of its setting, within which the term *miṭluh* has been retained as indicating repetition not of the first *taqsim* but of *āwīza* 1 or 2. Here, as in other pieces, the text of the *āwīza* is very little amplified, indicating that the melodic duration of each hemistich is likely to have been much less than that in the previous verse sections, but at the same time making it difficult to tell if there was melodic variation between its various hemistiches. (A quite separate point that may be noted in relation to 139b is that, even if unusual, a *mustahall* is not always absent from longer settings.)

Similar subordination and compression is apparent in 41b. Here the two lines of *āwīza* are presented in a single block with internal subdivisions, indicating presumably points of repetition, but the piece is not then rounded off by the following recall of an earlier section, proceeding rather beyond it to a

new syllabic *naql-i dīgar*, and only after that concluding with a repeat of the setting of part of H2. A slightly more extended variation of the same pattern is exhibited in 47b, an 'amal with three lines of text and two lines of *bayt-i āwīza*: *taqsīm* (H1)/*taqsīm* (H2)/*tarannum<sup>a</sup>/awwal* (H3)/*miyān* (H5)/*tarannum<sup>b</sup>/awwal* (H6)/*taqsīm* (H6)/*tarannum<sup>a</sup>/bāzgašt/sarband/āwīza* (H7)/*taqsīm* (H8)/*taqsīm* (H9)/*taqsīm* (H10)/*sarband* (in fact, a repetition not of the previous *sarband* but of *tarannum<sup>b</sup>*), where again the compression of the *āwīza* verses into a single block with considerable (but certainly not complete) internal repetition is in marked contrast to the much more expansive setting of the preceding lines, which indulges in the extraordinary luxury of two different versions of H6 as well as an internal repeat in the *miyān* of the setting of H5.

Further extension is to be found in 28b, an 'amal with two lines of text, two of *āwīza*, and then a further two unrelated verses, in yet another rhyme, with the heading *bayt-i āwīza-i dīgar*. The compositional technique adopted here is to follow established patterns as far as a natural point of conclusion and then repeat the *bāzgašt* and add after it the second *āwīza* block, the total structure being as follows:

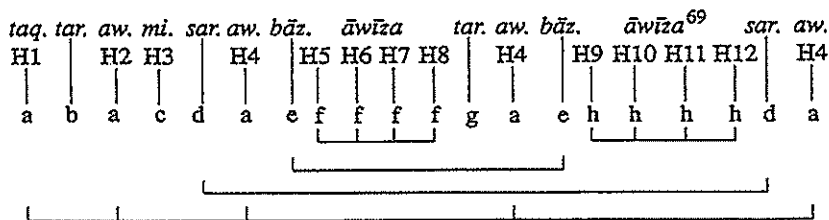


Figure 22

The compact *āwīza* sections thus, from one perspective, form prolongations that are integrated into the standard ritornello structure of the whole, comparable up to a point to the *naql-i dīgar* among syllable sections. But at the same time it may be noted that they do not conform to the normal trend towards patterns of interlocking repetition, so that they could also be regarded as creating a secondary arch-like shape superimposed upon the ritornello structure.

If compression and subordination are the norm, previous experience would suggest that exceptions will be encountered in which the *āwīza* outweighs the so-called main text, and one such occurs in 135b, a *qawl* in which it

<sup>69</sup> The text in both *dwīzas* is virtually without prolongation syllables, indicating again the compression of these sections. Further evidence of the close similarity or identity of the setting for each hemistich is provided by the second *āwīza*, where three of the four have a central word insert: H9 *mīr-i man*, H10 *'unr-i man*, H12 *šāh-i man*.

consists of three lines to the preceding one. But more unusual here than the relative proportions is the interweaving, reminiscent of that encountered in the *ṣawt*, of the two texts, especially as they are in different languages (first line Arabic, *āwīza* Persian). The setting of H2 is delayed until after the completion of the first *āwīza* line, the transition back being facilitated by repetition of the end of H1 before the onset of H2. The setting of H4 may be taken to be a repeat of that for H3, and presumably the settings for H5 (and H6) and H7 (and H8) are repeats of that for H3 (and H4): in each case after the first just the initial two words of the line are entered. The structure of the whole is therefore:

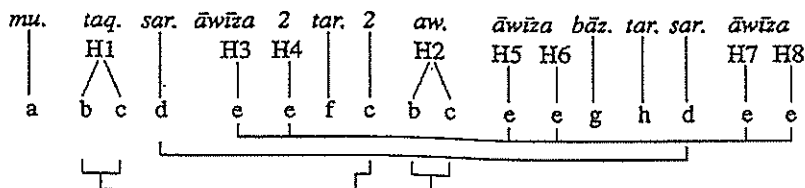


Figure 23

exhibiting a pattern of repetition made up of three interlocking strands but, unexpectedly, with no reference back to the first (b c) at the end of the piece.

We may refer, finally, to 119a, a setting of no less than twelve lines of text: not, however, a complete poem or passage felt indivisible because of narrative or thematic unity, but rather a sequence of six pairs of lines from different sources (and generally with different rhymes and metres) juxtaposed in a structure the basic aesthetic determinants of which must have been musical rather than literary. The initial display of the text gives the first couplet and then prefaces each of the following ones with a heading: *miṭluḥ dar awwal*, *bayt-i miyān ḥāna*, *miṭluḥ dar awwal*, *miṭluḥ dar awwal* (this couplet has the same rhyme and metre as the first), and *bayt-i āwīza*. These clearly indicate the zones of melodic repetition and non-repetition across the various sections, which are given as: *taqsim 1* (H1)/2 (H2)/3 (H3)/4 (H4)/*tarannum*/4 (H4)/*awwal* (H5)/ *miyān ḥāna a* (H9)/b (H10)/j (H11)/d (H12)/*tarannum/awwal 1* (H13)/*bāzgašt/āwīza 1* (H21)/2 (H22)/3 (H23)/4 (H24)/*tarannum/awwal* (H17). The setting of H5-H8 is thus a repeat of that of H1-H4, while the whole is again repeated for H13-H20. The final *awwal* entry must clearly imply the further addition of H18, and in all probability H19 and H20 as well.

Considering only the text-setting blocks, the structure of the whole could be stated as A A B A A C A, just as one-line settings were initially reduced to an A A B A outline. But while the general rubric of ritornello can obviously be considered relevant in virtually all cases, as an analytical tool it

remains rather simplistic, concealing as much as it reveals. The dominant impression left by the above survey of the formal structures displayed in NO/G is not so much one of crabbed uniformity as one of inventiveness and flexibility in the exploitation of an unexpectedly wide range of different section types variously omitted, selected and recombined within a broadly constant set of text-related zones to produce a rich pattern of creative possibilities allowing for considerable diversity at the same time as ensuring unity. Further, although the abstractions presented above have taken account of blocks of material smaller than the section, it should be observed that the technique of repetition that so obviously secures unity within the large-scale text blocks of the longer settings, and results in a variety of ritornello-type structures when applied disjunctively to sections or subsections, is sometimes to be seen in operation on an even smaller scale, thus providing at the same time a finer mesh and a more fluid pattern of recurring elements.

The first two pieces transcribed in 2.3.1.2 may serve in illustration. In the *qawl*, for example, the pre-verse syllable element of the *taqsim* reappears at the end of the first *tarannum*, while the first part of the *bāzgašt* has an (unmarked)  $a + a + b$  structure and the second recapitulates part of the second *tarannum*. Segmenting each section accordingly, we obtain a pattern of repeated elements considerably more detailed than that shown in the first broad outline of fig. 10:

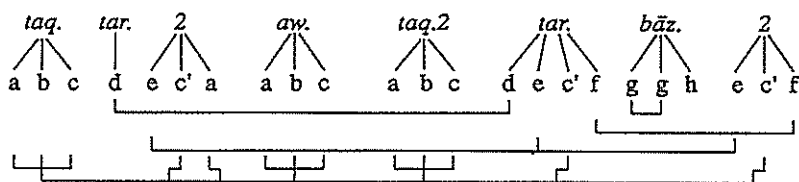


Figure 24

Similarly, in the *ghazal*, the verse element in *taqsim* 3 begins differently from its counterpart in *taqsim* 1, but then becomes virtually identical, so that it may well have been a melodic variant leading back to the original material, while the *bāzgašt* (1), now explicitly marked as having an  $a + a + b$  structure, recapitulates at the end part of *taqsim* 1. Furthermore, as was noted in 2.3.2.4, *bāzgašt* 2 is a repeat of *taqsim* 2, and 3 of the first part of *taqsim* 3, so that we accordingly have:



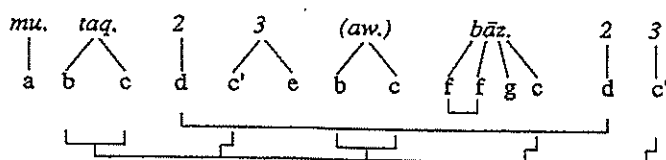


Figure 25

## 2.3.3. Section distinctions

It is clear from the above survey that a number of section headings are, or appear to be, synonymous, while between others no clear line of demarcation is discernible. We may consider first the question of the variations in usage presented by the first section of G on the one hand, and on the other NO and the second section of G.

## 2.3.3.1. G and NO

Accepting the conclusion arrived at in 2.1.2 with regard to the relative chronology of these two collections we must regard the terminology of the first part of G as the earlier. This is by no means radically different, but while it uses the by now familiar names *taqsim-i awwal*, *miyān ḥāna*, *bāzgašt* and *sarband* for the most basic sections, it does tend to designate intermediate sections in other ways, most obviously by frequently avoiding the term *tarannum* (or *hung*) in favour of a numerical coding. In the quite typical case of 13b, for example, the beginning of H1 is called *taqsim-i awwal* and the second half 2. The following brief syllable section, equivalent to a *tarannum* in NO, is headed 3, after which 2 is repeated with the text of the second half of H2. For a longer example we may turn to 20a, a four-line setting the structure of which is *taqsim-i awwal* (H1)/2 (syllable: a very brief *hung*-like section)/3 (H2)/4 (syllable: a *tarannum*-like section)/5 (end of H2)/*miyān* 1 (H5)/2 (syllable: a brief *tarannum*-like section)/ 3 (H6)/4 (syllable: another *tarannum*-like section)/*taqsim-i awwal* (H7)/*bāzgašt*/ *taqsim-i awwal* (H7). This exhibits two numerical sequences, the second for the *miyān* (similarly, elsewhere, for the *āwīza*), but in other pieces there may be just one, as in 6b, where a *tarannum*-like section after the *miyān* is headed 4.

On occasion 2 may replace *awwal*, but the remaining differences concern mainly verbal variants and substitutions. Thus, *awwal* may appear as *awwal band* (and also, confusingly, 2 *band*), *sarband-i awwal* and *sarband dar awwal*. In 13a what in NO would be a *mustahall* section is subsumed under the

heading *taqsim-i awwal*, while the onset of the verse setting is indicated by *dar bayt*; and in 13b *bayt* (previously encountered in the phrase *bayt-i āwīza*) appears equivalent to *āwīza*, a term which does appear, but in place of which we more frequently encounter *maḥw* ('hastening'), the meaning of which is presumably to be correlated with the comparative brevity of the setting of each hemistich in this section. Such variations suggest that usage was by no means fixed for all the sections, indeed that some of the labelling might be personal to the compiler, and hence that the high degree of precision and detail with regard to form that the vocabulary of NO exhibits might not provide an exact reflection of the way most practising musicians verbalized their concepts of structure.

### 2.3.3.2. Position

For the syllable sections (*mustahall*, *sarband*, *tarannum*, *bāzgašt*, *naql-i dīgar* and *hung*) investigation may most appropriately be directed towards the parameters of phonetic consistency, length, the presence of particular syllable strings and/or the admixture of word elements, initial and/or final formulae, intersection with word and verse material, recurrence, and position relative both to each other and to the verse sections. This last factor is immediately effective in providing a distinction between *mustahall*, *bāzgašt*, and *naql-i dīgar*, each of which, as has been noted above, always occurs at a reasonably clearly defined and different point in the formal articulation of the whole, being separated from the others by intervening bands involving verse material:

*mustahall/verse (/sarband, tarannum, hung)/verse/bāzgašt/  
verse repeat/naql-i dīgar/verse repeat*

That relative position might be the most significant, perhaps indeed the only, feature distinguishing these three not only from each other but also from the *sarband* and *tarannum* is suggested by the apparent similarity in their phonetic consistency, and in particular by the fact that in at least one case the *mustahall* is repeated as an integral part of the *bāzgašt*. But even if position alone is a sufficient criterion, it does not follow that the search for possibly characteristic differences in their internal structure should be abandoned; nor is the conclusion itself unassailable, for although in the majority of cases there could be no confusion, exceptions do occur: in NO: 172b, for example, a *sarband* is unexpectedly inserted between *mustahall* and *taqsim 1*, so that some further criterion would need to be found to tell these two apart. Such is also the case with regard to the other syllable sections which tend to appear in the same slot in the overall structure and may in addition be juxtaposed.

## 2.3.3.3. Phonetic consistency; syllable strings

It has already been observed that materials from one section may be repeated in another, demonstrating therefore that, in general, phonetic consistency is insufficient for determining the identity of a given section. Among further examples we may cite 3a, in which the last 22 syllables of the *mustahall* and the *sarband* are identical; 172b, in which the *mustahall* is repeated as the first section of the *bāzgašt*; and 153b, in which nearly all the final section of the *sarband* is repeated as the end of the *bāzgašt*. Nevertheless, appeal to the criterion of phonetic consistency is helpful in one case: there is, as has been noted, a clear contrast in this respect between the *hung* and all the other syllable sections, with the partial exception of the *sarband*. The consonantal range of the *hung* is very narrow, being restricted to the gutturals /h ' k/. The same range may be also be encountered on occasion in the *sarband*, but is there never the sole constituent of the syllabic material, occurring, indeed, only in relatively short passages contrasting with the remainder, which draws upon the normal consonantal range of syllable sections comprising dentals, nasals, and liquids. In the syllable sections the gutturals are to be encountered otherwise only within prolongation syllables forming part of word or verse elements. Elsewhere, however, it seems quite impossible to make distinctions between sections based on phonetic consistency: similar syllable strings appear throughout, and no particular consonant, syllable, or sequence of syllables seems to occur with markedly greater or lesser frequency in any given section.

## 2.3.3.4. Length

Relative length is also inconclusive and ultimately unhelpful as a criterion. At best, it helps to reinforce the distinction already established more precisely on a phonetic basis between the *hung*, which tends to be quite (and sometimes very) short, and the other syllable sections, although they are in some cases so variable that even this conclusion carries little weight. Length in any case can only mean, in the present context, the length of the written text as measured in terms of the number of syllables,<sup>70</sup> and it might be argued that such a yardstick is of doubtful usefulness, on the grounds that although it may be reasonable to assume in an oral tradition a trend towards uniformity of treatment of similar material, the extent of such material is not readily determined: the relevant category might be the repertoire as a whole, the form, the type of section (verse or syllable), or even no more than the individual section. In the last case we might suppose that the only available criterion would be a general average of sung syllable length maintained in the performance of the same section in

<sup>70</sup> There are no grounds for thinking that there might be a preponderance of long syllables in one section, short in another, so that syllable length may be ignored.

different pieces (alternatively stated, a similar average consumption of syllables in a given rhythmic cycle), so that all *mustahalls*, say, might have a family resemblance in this respect which could, in theory, be sharply differentiated from that of all *tarannums*: there would, accordingly, be no way of discerning length distinctions between different sections of the same piece. However, that such a view is unnecessarily pessimistic is readily demonstrated by the already established fact of the transferability of material between different syllable sections: reference has been made in 2.3.2.8 to part of a *tarannum* reappearing in a *bāzgašt*, in 2.3.3.3 to the incorporation of a *mustahall* within a *bāzgašt*, and 153b not only provides an example of a *sarband* which includes part of a preceding *tarannum*, but has in addition a *bāzgašt* which ends by repeating part of the *sarband*. There cannot, therefore, for these syllable sections at least, have been section-specific norms with regard to either the tempo of articulation (the average number of syllables per rhythmic cycle) or, incidentally, such features as register and dynamics. Consequently, it is clear that, whether or not comparisons may legitimately be made paradigmatically between instances of the same section in different pieces (although such would appear in principle reasonable), they may certainly be made syntagmatically between different sections in the same piece. What such comparisons demonstrate is that length by itself is inadequate to establish identity over the whole range of syllable sections: at most it might be said that the *hung* tends to be relatively short, the *mustahall* not much longer, and the *bāzgašt* and *naql-i digar* quite long.

Some idea of possible norms both within and between pieces may be gained by a rather less approximate survey of section length in nine songs which have as common features identity of both form (they are all *tarānas*) and text set. The number of syllables per section (none, unfortunately, has a *mustahall* or *hung*, and only two have a *tarannum*) is displayed in table 3. Ignoring potential problems of evaluation posed by the existence of sub-sections, one may note as a possible common trend the relationship *bāzgašt* > *sarband* > *taqsim* (although as might be expected this is by no means uniform). That the *naql-i digar* is also usually quite a substantial section is confirmed elsewhere, most spectacularly by 108a, in which it is longer than the other sections put together. But equally apparent are the wide variations in length exhibited by the best represented sections: from 20 to 92 syllables in the *taqsim*, 23 to 82 in the *sarband*, and 34 to 95 in the *bāzgašt*: there is evidently no general length norm for any of these sections. cursory inspection of a few further pieces suffices to demonstrate that such is also the case for the *tarannum*: 172b, for example, has one of a mere twelve syllables, while that of 70a is over 50. Nor should it be presumed that the variations shown encompass the widest limits to be encountered: 3a, 37a, and 92a all have *sarbands* of over 100 syllables. On average the *sarband* tends to be longer than the *tarannum*, but length by itself is evidently not a sufficient criterion for recognition,

particularly, of course, when these two sections are juxtaposed: in one of the two cases listed above the *sarband* is longer, in the other the *tarannum*.

	<i>taqsim</i>	<i>tarannum</i>	<i>sarband</i>	<i>bāzgašt</i>	<i>naql-i dīgar</i>
2b	64	-	68	91	-
9a	43	-	43	89	-
12a	20	43	64	70	-
18b	22	-	66	51	-
67b	28	-	82	95	-
91b	92	-	-	129	-
103b	44	-	68	91	88
110a	44	38	23	68	-
112b	29	-	65	34	-

(In 18b the *sarband* is made up of a first section of 22, to be repeated, and a second section of 22; the *bāzgašt* is divided internally into 22+12+17. In 67b the *taqsim* setting is incomplete, so that the original total must have been higher. In 91b the *bāzgašt* is divided internally into 72+57. In 110a the *tarannum* is divided internally into 10+28; the *bāzgašt* is made up of a first section of 16, to be repeated, and a second section of 36. In 112b the *bāzgašt* is divided internally into 9+9+3+2+11.)

Table 3

### 2.3.3.5. Formulae

Even if length were after all crucial for a distinction between *tarannum* and *sarband*, when juxtaposed the point of transition between them would still need to be recognized. Juncture presents no problems when a syllable section is followed by a verse one (or vice-versa): it is clear that the *mustahall*, say, has ended and the *taqsim* begun when verse replaces syllable. But it is still possible that certain additional conventional features might have marked the end of the *mustahall* independently, thus providing more than one signal, and one might reasonably expect certain formulae to attend those transitions for which there is no explicit and unequivocal marker such as a syllable to verse shift (or at least none revealed by the text: the possibility cannot of course be excluded that the normal, and sufficient, juncture marker was simply a pause). However, that neither phonetic selectivity nor the consistent employment of particular syllable strings serve to mark with separate and recognizable conventional features the beginnings of the principal syllable sections may be seen from the following random sample (in which, if both occur, the *tarannum* will directly precede the

*sarband*). Where the *bāzgašt* is internally divided the beginnings of both sections are given:

	<i>mustahall</i>	<i>tarannum</i>	<i>sarband</i>	<i>bāzgašt</i>
37a	<i>tana til</i>		<i>dir ta'ā</i>	<i>tanah dir</i>
92a		<i>til lillā' an</i>	<i>dōst tanah dir</i>	<i>til lill.n:</i>
160a	<i>tan tanananan</i>	<i>t{anan}dir</i>		<i>taddar dīlil</i>
83a		<i>tā: tananī</i>		<i>hayyār tīll.n:</i>
3a	<i>tan tannan:</i>		<i>tananiṭah</i>	<i>tananaḥ tādīrdīr</i>
153b		<i>dītan dītan</i>	<i>tanān tanān</i>	<i>darallāḥ</i>
172b	<i>tanah dīn</i>		<i>til lillā:n</i>	<i>taradīn til lilla' an:</i>
110a		<i>tannāḥ dī:rnā</i>	verse	<i>tannā dīrnā: tarallāḥ</i>

All four examples of the *mustahall* begin with *tan* or *tana*, but even if this can be demonstrated to be characteristic<sup>71</sup> it is not distinctive, since all the other sections may also begin in the same way. Similarly, the *til līl* beginning may occur in *tarannum*, *sarband*, and *bāzgašt*. However, the fact that two of the three *sarbands* which directly follow a *tarannum* commence with a word or verse element suggests that if beginnings by themselves are insufficiently distinctive, points of transition might be less so. We may consider first the section endings for the same pieces:

	<i>mustahall</i>	<i>tarannum</i>	<i>sarband</i>	<i>bāzgašt</i>
37a	<i>tan nannā</i>		<i>lā l.l alā</i>	<i>lanah dīrtan</i>
92a		<i>tarlah lalay</i>	<i>tā:lalah lākay</i>	<i>tīllanah dīrnay</i>
160a	<i>til lillā{ 'a' a}na</i>	word		<i>tardīrnā tā</i>
83a		<i>til lillā+verse</i>		<i>tan tannā{ 'a' a}</i>
3a	<i>ladīr tannā</i>		<i>dir tannā+verse</i>	<i>tālah lākay tardīrnā</i>
153b		<i>dīrdīr nākay</i>	<i>dīrnā' akay</i>	<i>dīrnā' akay</i>
172b	<i>dīrnākā</i>		<i>lālah lallā</i>	<i>dīrtanah dīrnā līllanah dīrnā</i>
110a		<i>taradlīnay</i>	word	<i>dīrnākay taradlīnay</i>

These seem rather more encouraging, in that although there are no endings that appear to be section specific, there is at least the impression of a family resemblance differentiating them from the beginnings, and the conclusion that there was a preponderance of a small number of formulae in this position is

<sup>71</sup> That it is not universal is demonstrated by the *mustahalls* transcribed in 2.3.1.2: that of the *gazal* begins *tīllāḥ*, that of the *fīrūdāšt* *tādīr*, and that of the *mustazād* *taradīn*. That *t* is in each case the first sound may be noted, but it would be insufficient to serve by itself as a distinguishing feature.

reinforced by a survey of a further 15 examples of a single section (*bāzgašt*), the endings being:

<i>tardirnākay</i>	<i>tillanah</i>	<i>dirnay</i>	
<i>tardirnāka</i>	<i>tillanah dirnay</i>	<i>tirlanah tā:dirnā</i>	<i>tan tannā('a' ā)</i>
<i>dirdirnākay</i>	<i>tanah tardirnay</i>	<i>lillanah dirna</i>	<i>dillanah dirtan</i>
<i>dirdirnā:kay</i>	<i>dirtā:na nay</i>	<i>tanah tardirnā</i>	
<i>daradlinākay</i>	<i>tillin taradlinay</i>	<i>tanah tardirnā tā</i>	
(+ verse)			
<i>tartil lillākay</i>			

Internal sections also tend to be marked in the same way, so that within the *bāzgašt* *dirnay* + word is encountered before *t*, *daradlinākay* and *lanah dirnay* + word before 2, and *tan: tan:*, *tadirnā*, and *dirtā:lahlay* before 3. Reference to further randomly selected pieces in which *tarannum* and *sarband* are contiguous confirms that juncture between them is frequently similarly marked:

<i>tarannum</i> ending	<i>sarband</i> beginning
<i>dirtā:nah nākay</i>	<i>tardil tananī</i>
<i>tanah dirdirnay</i>	word
<i>tanah tardirnay</i>	<i>taddar dil</i>
<i>daradlah dirdirnay</i>	<i>tarad til</i>
<i>darallah dirnay</i>	<i>tā:lallī</i>
<i>taradlinay</i>	verse
<i>tarlah lat<sup>ky</sup>:</i>	word
<i>dirtā: dirmā</i>	<i>daradī</i>
<i>daradladin dir</i>	<i>tādirnā</i>
<i>tannā tanahdir</i>	<i>dirtannā</i>

and we may further note that where the *sarband* ends with a text repeat the preceding syllable part frequently also ends in *-ay*.

But while transitions between sections are frequently marked in this way, it is clear that such endings and beginnings are in themselves insufficient to justify the separation of *tarannum* and *sarband* as autonomous sections, for similar transitional sequences are also to be found within such sections. Thus in 92a the *sarband* contains *tanahah tinay*: + word and *tā:lalah lākay* + verse, each as readily interpretable as a section break as that which actually marks the juncture between it and the preceding *tarannum*. (Although no doubt exceptional, it may be noted that the *bāzgašt* in the same piece exhibits no fewer than four or, possibly, five such potential juncture sequences.)

The same assessment may be made with regard to the intersections between syllable and word or verse elements exhibited above. The onset of a verse element clearly marks either the beginning of a verse section or, where it is a repeat of part of a hemistich set in a previous section, the beginning of a final subsection, but in the latter case it is not restricted to any one specific syllable section. Word elements occur more freely, appearing initially and finally, as well as medially in contexts suggesting internal juncture; in each case, therefore, they may be associated with a transition, but do not indicate what the transition is to, and consequently are also insufficient in themselves to identify unequivocally the section in which they appear.

### 2.3.3.6. Recurrence

On the basis of the above evidence the conclusion one is likely to come to is that not only is there no clearly discernible set of criteria to distinguish from one another those sections not defined straightforwardly by the main structural nodes they occupy, but also that in all likelihood there was no standard employment for this purpose of other features not perceptible in the form in which these pieces are recorded. With regard specifically to the two most difficult sections, the frequently juxtaposed *sarband* and *tarannum*, one example may suffice to indicate that these terms were sometimes randomly or indifferently employed. In 110a a *tarannum* is followed by a *sarband* consisting only of verse (plus a word element), that is, of a repetition of the end of H1. But since a *tarannum* standing by itself in this position would normally incorporate such a repeat, and since the fact of it being a repeat means that there could be no introduction of new melodic or textual material, the employment of the term *sarband* seems otiose. Equally, there appears to be no good reason why the pair together should not have been called just *sarband*.

The most positive discrimination between the two terms would in fact seem to relate less to any contrast with regard to the kinds of material they contain than to their implications for subsequent repetition. As might be anticipated, the difference here is not an absolute, but rather a probability which reinforces other, generally weaker, probabilities. The relationship may be reviewed as follows:

A *sarband* may be purely syllabic, but is less likely to be so than a *tarannum*; a *sarband*, but not normally a *tarannum*, may contain a small element of *hung*-like material;<sup>72</sup> a *tarannum* may contain, either integrated or marked off as a separate subsection, a repetition of the end of a previous verse section, but is less likely to do so than a *sarband*; a *tarannum* may contain word elements, but is less likely to do so than a *sarband*; and lastly, and most

<sup>72</sup> One *tarannum* which appears to be that of 40a, but it would also be possible to interpret the passage in question as assignable to the word category.



significantly, where the term *tarannum* recurs, the material associated with it is normally not a repeat of a previous *tarannum*, while the opposite is the case with the *sarband*, which normally does recur. (Related to the frequent reappearance of the *sarband* to conclude the piece is the fact that it so often contains part of a preceding verse setting.)

If the meaning of the word *sarband* ('head-band, fillet') may be considered a metaphor of circularity and repetition, it would be reasonable to see this as, indeed, the central role of the section. Particularly instructive here are the juxtapositions of *sarband* and *tarannum*. Typical examples are 44a and 54b, in both of which we have *tarannum* + *sarband*, with each heading recurring (separately) later; but whereas the second *tarannum* contains different material, the second *sarband* does not. In such cases, therefore, irrespective of any junction markers between them, it may be said that a *tarannum* + *sarband* sequence is essentially a single extended syllable section (probably incorporating a final verse fragment) within which *tarannum* denotes the portion that does not recur, *sarband* that which does. Further confirmation of the association of *sarband* with repetition is provided by less usual contexts: 172b contains the exceptional sequence *mustahall* + *sarband* + *taqsim*, but this can be analysed as a normal *mustahall* + *taqsim* with the latter part of the *mustahall*, identified as *sarband*, recurring elsewhere in the piece. Equally unexpected is the appearance of the term *sarband* in 132a, where it designates a subsection of the *bāzgašt*. But its function is the same: it is used to label a part that is repeated later (in this case within the *bāzgašt*). In 107a the *tarannum* has five internal punctuation marks (indicating points at which the rhythmic cycle changes) over the third and fourth of which is written *sarband*, and these reappear as the final section of the piece. If the designation of material that repeats is the original function of *sarband*, it may be assumed that overlap with the normally non-repeating *tarannum*, each term occasionally taking over the role of the other, is a subsequent development - or simple terminological confusion - caused by the essentially identical nature of their syllabic contents.<sup>73</sup> We may recall in this connexion the lack of consistency shown in G with regard to the use of the term *tarannum* and note, finally, the association of *sarband* (in the combination *sarband dar awwal*) with verse section repeats.

#### 2.4.1. Text setting 1

Consideration of the evidence provided by NO/G about the way composers handled the poetic text may conveniently begin with some remarks on the

<sup>73</sup> While the above account is adequate for the bulk of the collection, it must be emphasized that not everything fits. A particularly refractory example is 54a, which uses the term *tarannum* four times, three for the same material (so that one would expect here *sarband*, especially as the third occurrence is as the final section of the piece), and reserves *sarband* for the setting of H4 (which does not recur in full).

pieces transcribed in 2.3.1.2. Broadly, these suggest that the narrow consonantal range of the syllabic *hung* is also characteristic of the prolongation syllables encountered in all forms. The *taqsim-i awwal* of the *qawl* seems to present an immediate exception to this generalization, since it begins with syllabic material drawing on the wider consonantal repertoire of sections other than the *hung*. But this material is clearly pre-textual and is not therefore equatable with prolongation syllables, which by definition only occur within the verse itself: it may reasonably be considered extraneous to the setting, and appears equivalent, indeed, to a short *mustahall*, its quasi-independent status being reinforced by the formula-like nature of its ending (in *lālay*), reminiscent of those discussed in 2.3.3.5. In the prolongation syllables the *hung* consonants /h ' k/ are throughout followed by the same vowel as that of the text syllable concerned. In the *taqsim* of the *mustazād* only /k/ occurs, and in the first *taqsim* of the *tarāna* only /'/, but in general there appear to be no particular restrictions on distribution, although one may note that, where there is a string of two or more prolongation syllables, either the same consonant is repeated, or a second is introduced, but not the third. The sample is too small to determine whether there were standard preferences associating one or other of the prolongation consonants with a given text consonant, but what evidence there is suggests that such was unlikely.

In all seven *taqsim* settings text syllables are treated in the same way, being either kept in their original form (cv, cvv, cvc),<sup>74</sup> or extended. Extension involves vowel lengthening (cv>cvv, cvv>cvv:, cvc>cvvc, cvcc>cvvcc); final consonant lengthening (cvvc>cvvc:); and/or adding prolongation syllables. These may be inserted either within a closed syllable (cvc>cvcv...c, cvvc>cvvcv...c),<sup>75</sup> the vowel of which may also be lengthened (cvc>cvvcv...c);<sup>76</sup> or after an open syllable (cvv>cvvcv...), the vowel of which may also be lengthened (cv>cvvcv..., cvv>cvv:cv...) or shortened (cvv>cvcv...). The first prolongation syllable may be preceded by an added consonant (e.g. cvv>cvvccv..., cvc>cvccv...c). There is one instance also of syllable reduplication (*man man*). Although prolongation occurs with all syllable types, it normally affects short (cv) ones far less often: only ten long syllables are left in their original form, but even fewer short ones are not, and of these only one has following prolongation syllables. Considered in isolation such a distribution would suggest, therefore, that syllable length (and, by implication, word stress) was a determining factor of prolongation, the

<sup>74</sup> cv is prosodically short, the others long. These three syllable structures occur in both Arabic and Persian. The other two (extra long) syllables, cvvc and cvcc, which normally occur only in Persian, do not appear in this sample in their original form.

<sup>75</sup> The cv notation of the prolongation syllable is meant as an example, not to define precisely the one possible type. The structures occurring are cv, cvv, cvv:, cvc, and cvvc.

<sup>76</sup> In one of the two instances of the syllable cvcc a final vowel is also added (cvcc>cvvcv...ccv).

composer broadly both respecting and exaggerating the short-long contrasts upon which the various quantitative metres are structured.

The profile of the incidence of prolongation seems, however, to be most powerfully influenced by position within the hemistich. In all the *taqṣims* one may observe an increase, normally quite marked, towards the end, the extreme case being provided by the *tarāna*, in which, although short vowels (and one consonant) may be lengthened, prolongation syllables (eight in number) are associated only with the penultimate text syllable. In the *gazal* the first six text syllables have associated with them just two prolongation syllables as against no fewer than eighteen for the last five of the text. In the *firūdaṣṭ* the equivalent figures are for the first six text syllables, five prolongation syllables, for the last five, twelve; in the *mustazād* for the first six, three and for the last six, six; and in the *qawl* for the first seven, nine and for the last six, eighteen. On this basis one might tentatively suggest that one common compositional strategy in the *taqṣim* involved a conscious manipulation of the text designed to achieve an equilibrium between words and music through matching verse and melody in such a way as to maximize the communication of verbal meaning initially, the words being set with a minimum of distortion, until a point is reached where the semantic context now established is sufficient to ensure continuing comprehension despite the progressively increasing emphasis on purely musical features with which the rising proportion of prolongation syllables towards the end of the line may be correlated. Further sampling will naturally be required to confirm or deny the wider validity of this particular profile of distribution, and to ascertain the presence or otherwise of form-specific differences of approach: it would certainly be possible, for example, to describe the *taqṣim* of the *qawl* in somewhat different terms, suggesting rather that the distribution of the prolongation syllables is fairly even, but with a higher incidence at the beginning and end (with the first four text syllables are associated nine prolongation syllables, with the next five, seven, and with the last four, eleven); and to argue, accordingly, that in this case the central dip in the number of prolongation syllables may be related to a need to ensure comprehensibility after the initial high level of distortion. It will equally be necessary to look beyond these five pieces to determine whether similar profiles are exhibited in *miyān* or *āwīza* settings. The only *miyān* in 2.3.1.2 is that of the *mustazād*, which appears if anything to resemble the *taqṣim* of the *qawl*, having fewest prolongation syllables in the middle of the hemistich (two for the first five text syllables, one for the second five, and four for the last four); but the overall incidence is so low that firm conclusions cannot be drawn.

A standard feature of song structure, as has been noted, is the reprise of part of a hemistich setting within a syllable section. In the *qawl* three such instances occur, one in each *tarannum*, and the last in the concluding second subsection of the *bāzgaṣṭ*. With regard to subsection 2 of the first *tarannum* one

may observe, as of particular significance for any attempt to detect aesthetic principles in operation, the fact that although the two final words repeated from H1 form in themselves a grammatically complete utterance, their meaning, since they are now separated from a preceding negative particle, has become the opposite of what it is in the original text, and it would therefore follow that the point at which the composer chose to begin the reprise of verse material was determined by purely melodic and/or rhythmic factors, the sense of the text as a whole being completely disregarded. Any doubt either as to the validity of this conclusion or to its wider relevance may be dispelled by reference to the corresponding reprises in the *ghazal* and the *firūdāšt*, each of which similarly ignores the semantic imperatives of the text, beginning indeed in mid-word: in such contexts musical considerations clearly take precedence over textual ones.

#### 2.4.2. Text setting 2

The majority of the *taqsim* settings in the five *nawba* movements have been seen to follow a rather similar pattern, but with considerable differences in the degree to which the text has been affected by prolongation. Even wider variations may be found elsewhere, however, and may most readily be illustrated by reference to a further ten pieces, all *tarānas* (and despite the general conclusion reached earlier about the lack of clear structural differentiation between one form and another, it is obviously advantageous for present purposes to be able to compare settings assigned to a single form rather than to several), and all settings of the same line. These therefore provide an excellent opportunity to examine how one composer's approach might differ from another's, not only in the treatment of the text itself, but also with respect to the wider creative problems of its distribution within the form of the piece. Further, the variations in the strategies employed by a single composer may also be considered, for (assuming the attributions to be reliable) three of the settings are by Šafī al-Dīn. Eight of the pieces are one-line settings, and these may be examined first. They are:

2b by Suhrawardī, 9a by Ḥwāja, 12a by 'Alī Sitā'i, 67b, 91b,<sup>77</sup> and 112b by Šafī al-Dīn, 103b by 'Abd al-Qādir, and 110a by Kamāl.

The verse set is:

*ahwāka wa-law ḡanītu min ajli hawāk*  
*aw ullafu bi-'l-ḡarāmi fa-'l-rūḡu fidāk*<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Also in G (: 58b).

<sup>78</sup> *ḡanītu* (attested in Arabic sources) appears in all ten cases as *ḡanītu*, a non-existent form.

(I shall love you even though I pine away from my love for you;  
and should passion destroy me, my soul shall be your ransom.)

All eight follow the normal *tarāna* pattern of dispensing with a *mustahall* and begin therefore directly with a setting of H1. In no case is this preceded by a word element. The degree to which melodic structure was independent of semantic requirements or, conversely, the degree to which the emphases inherent in the meaning of the verse dictated emphasis in the setting may be seen immediately in the various treatments of the first five syllables *ahwāka wa-law* 'I love you even if'. These also demonstrate the extremely wide latitudes within which the composer could operate, ranging from a setting in which no syllable is prolonged to others in which there are multiple prolongations and syllable inserts. Ordered according to total length (i.e. number of syllables) the settings of this stretch of verse (plus any ensuing syllable material prior to the onset of the next verse syllable) are as follows:

1. 'Alī Sitā'i                      *ahwāka walaw*
2. Šafī al-Dīn (112b)          *akakahwāka wālā' a' a' a' ka' law*
3. Šafī al-Dīn (67b)          *ahwākā wā lakakah kakah kakaw ahakā hākaw*
4. Suhrawardī                   *ahwāka wālā' a' aw hakkah hakkaw ha' ākak kakkā:  
kūha*
5. Kamāl                         *ahwā' a' akā' a' wā lakkaw ha' ā' a' kahakakah  
hakakakah hā' kaw*
6. 'Abd al-Qādir               *ahwā' ā: kawā:lā' a' ā' a' ā' a' a' aw ahah kahah  
kahakākaw*
7. Ḥwāja                         *ahwā:kā wālā' a' a' a' aw hakākha hakkaw ha' ākah  
kahā:kā' a' aw*
8. Šafī al-Dīn (91b)          *ahwā:kā: wā:law hakay hakay ahah hakay hakay  
hākay ahah hi{'i'i} hi'i i' i' i' i' i' i' kīkīy*

The most immediately striking feature here is the enormous disparity in length: the shortest setting has the irreducible minimum of five syllables (all in their original form), the longest has 35. But the longer ones do not fragment and distort the text to the extent that such a high figure would suggest: their length results rather from the insertion of further material after the end of the text has been reached, a feature lacking only in 1 and 2. The settings of the text itself range from five syllables to fourteen (the average being nine) and conform throughout to the description of extension and prolongation given in 2.4.2, so that we have:

$cvc > cvv, cvv:, cvvcv$   
 $cvv > cvv:, cvvcv$   
 $cvc > cvcv...c, cvvcv...c, cvccv...c$

with the highest number of prolongation syllables for any one verse syllable being eight.

At first sight the profile for this segment resembles in miniature that found above for whole hemistiches. The incidence of prolongation is much higher towards the end, being indeed concentrated almost exclusively on the last syllable *law*, which has prolongation syllables in six of the eight settings adding up to a total of 27, as against six for all the other text syllables combined: in only one setting does the first syllable have prolongation syllables, and the second in only two. But there are also differences. In the *taqsims* discussed above, short syllables were in most cases kept in their original form, while here they are just as likely to be extended by vowel lengthening: comprehensibility is not thereby compromised, but it does appear that the respect for metrical structure which retention of the short-long contrast had seemed to imply needs to be called into question. Another difference concerns syllable reduplication, of which just one example (*man man*) was noted in 2.4.1. Here we encounter in no fewer than five cases a comparable but much more extended phenomenon which might more accurately be described as echo prolongation, that is, there are two sequences of prolongation syllables the second of which ends with the same -vc ending as the verse syllable amplified in the first. Thus in 3 we have:

text prolongation	<i>lakakah kakah kakaw</i>
echo prolongation	<i>ahakā hākaw</i>

while in 7 the process is even repeated:

text prolongation	<i>lā'a a'a aw</i>
echo prolongation 1	<i>hak<sup>a</sup>kha hakkaw</i>
echo prolongation 2	<i>ha'ākah kahā:kā' a aw</i>

The echo prolongation is in three cases of approximately the same length as the verse prolongation, but in the other two considerably longer. The main difference, however, seems to be the possibility of including all three *hung* consonants (even if /h/ and /k/ are preferred) in the echo, whereas the verse prolongations use at most two, and evince a general preference for /' / alone. Another form of echo or reduplication occurs in 2, where after a number of embedded prolongation syllables the first consonant of the verse syllable is reintroduced so that it appears in full at the end of the sequence (*cvc > cvvcv...cvc*). If, as seems legitimate, the echo prolongations are considered an

integral part of the setting of *law*, the relative length of the one syllable compared to what precedes it becomes so great that the tentative parallel drawn above between the distribution profile of this segment and that of the previous hemistiches may be dismissed as inappropriate, especially when even more syllable material may be added before the resumption of the verse setting proper. Such additions occur in 4 and, more spectacularly, 8, which contains rather than an echo prolongation of *law* an insert of no fewer than 30 syllables between it and the next verse syllable, the independence of which is underlined by a switch of vowel half-way through.

We may therefore conclude that, although amplification respects comprehensibility, it takes little account of meaning, that is, it seems dictated by purely musical imperatives rather than by any need to emphasize semantically important words in the verse. Thus *ahwāka* 'I love you' is in two cases left in its original form, and in a further three is affected only by vowel lengthening in the second and third syllables. In the remaining three, repetition increases the number of syllables sung from three to a maximum of six, but this remains an extremely modest extension when compared to the increase of the grammatical functor *wa-law* 'even if' from two syllables to eight or ten or, if the echo prolongations are included, to as many as 18 or 19. It is, further, between *wa-law* and the following verb to which it relates that the independent syllable inserts occur, not in the textually more logical position between *ahwāka*, which forms a complete clause, and *wa-law*, which begins the next. Semantic dislocation of the text thus paradoxically reaches its furthest point in 8, which merely lengthens three verse vowels, but then proceeds to separate *wa-law* from its verb by a 30-syllable insert, and is almost as severe in 7, where the initial prolongation of *wa-law* to six syllables is followed not by the next verse segment but by two echo prolongations, the three together totalling 19 syllables.

A broadly similar configuration is apparent in the settings of the remainder of the hemistich, which are as follows:

1. *ʒunlʔu min ajlɪkkɪ hakawā: 'a k̄a k̄a k̄a k̄a*
2. *ʒunɪkɪkɪtu mɪkkɪk kɪn akkajlɪkkɪ hawā: 'a 'a}ka*
3. *ʒū' unɪkkɪ {hɪ' i}tu m{ɪ' i' i' i' in} akah kakajlɪkɪ hawā: 'ak āɪ'kɪkɪ  
jākā'nimākan*
4. *ʒunɪkkɪ hɪ' i' i' tu mɪ' i' i' i' kɪn ihɪkkɪ hɪkɪkɪ hɪkɪkɪ hɪ' i' i' i' kɪn aka' kakah  
ajlɪkɪ hawā: 'a 'a 'a} āk āɪkɪkɪ jā' ānimā:kan*
5. *ʒū' unɪkkɪ h{ɪ' i}tu mɪ' i' kɪn ahakkah hakkajlɪ' i' kɪ hawā' a' akāk*
6. *ʒunɪ' i' i' i' i' i' tu mɪ' i' kɪn ahakkah hakkajlɪkɪ hawā' a' ā:k*
7. *ʒunɪkkɪ hɪ' i' i' tu mɪ' i' i' kɪn akah k<sup>a</sup>kajlɪkɪ hawā: hāk*
8. *ʒū' unɪkkɪ hɪ' i' tu mɪkkɪn hɪ' i' i' i' kɪkɪ hɪ' i' kɪkɪ kɪy a{ 'a 'a}jlɪ  
hawā' ak dɪrtan: tan: tɪnā: d̄jā:kā:m a{ 'a 'a 'a} ajlɪkkɪ hɪkɪ hɪ{ 'i' i'  
ha' a' awā' a {a' a}kkākkākāk*

The same techniques are employed and, although less frequent, echo prolongations and syllable inserts also occur. (In 3 the setting is incomplete, but as the cut comes at the end of a line, scribal forgetfulness rather than compositional peculiarity may be assumed and the missing part restored from the (normally exact) repeat at the end of the following *sarband* section. This adds after the verse a word element which may well not have formed part of the *taqsim* text setting but has been included primarily to provide comparative material for the word element occurring in 4.) The previously noted restriction within a first prolongation sequence to just two of the three *hung* consonants is here relaxed, and cannot therefore have constituted a rule. All three appear, for example, in the amplification of *nī* in 3, 4, 5, and 7. But elsewhere we are confronted with certain patterns of occurrence suggesting, contrary to the inconclusive evidence surveyed in 2.4.1, that there may have been certain standard associations of prolongation consonants with textual features. Thus to the previous

*wā* (in *ahwāka*) + 'a... (in 2 settings)

we may add

*wā* (in *hawāk*) + 'a... (8)  
+ *ha* (1).

Particularly instructive in this respect are the various amplifications of *min ajli*, which bear a strong family resemblance (approaching, in 5 and 6, complete identity):

<i>min</i> + 'i... (1)	<i>aj</i> + (k)ka (1)	<i>li</i> + (k)kī... (6)
+ (k)kī... (2)	+ (hak)kah... (4)	+ 'ikī (1)
+ 'i...kī (4)	+ ka'ka... (1)	
	+ 'a (2)	

Exceptional among the eight settings is the last which, after reaching the end of the hemistich, has a brief syllable (+ word) insert and then reverts to the last four syllables of the verse. As the insert does not employ the *hung* consonants but draws upon the wider range typical of the other syllable sections, it seems reasonable to consider it and the following text setting not as an integral part of the *taqsim* but rather as a *sarband* equivalent: it may be noted both that there is, unusually, no explicit *sarband* in the piece and that this material has the repetition function of a *sarband* in that it reappears to conclude the last section. Possible reasons for the omission of the label may be sought in the extreme brevity of the syllable element, but perhaps more convincingly in the fact that the repetition concluding the piece starts at an earlier point and,



further, in the significant differences between the setting of the verse fragment and that which precedes, whereas in a *sarband* one would expect if not a literal repeat at least close similarity, or initial difference leading to eventual convergence. If this material is consequently set aside, and if the word elements concluding 3 and 4 are also disregarded, we have for the setting of the hemistich as a whole the following syllable counts:<sup>79</sup>

	(a)			total	(b)		total
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)		(i)	(ii)	
1.	3	3	8	14	2	4	6
2.	5	5	5	15	7	7	14
3.	3	7	3	13	13	11	24
4.	3	6	6	15	15	26	41
5.	6	7	5	18	16	11	27
6.	4	8	4	16	18	10	28
7.	3	7	3	13	19	11	30
8.	3	7	4	14	32	18	50

The syllable counts are distributed according to:

(a) the semantic elements (i) *ahwāka*, (ii) *ḍanitu/ḡunitu*, and (iii) *hawāk*

(b) the grammatical elements (i) *wa-law* and (ii) *min ajli*.

Table 4

Thus in six of the eight settings the five syllables of (b) receive more extended treatment than the eight of (a): in five cases, indeed, the number of syllables devoted just to *wa-law* is equal to or greater than the total for (a). It was suggested in 2.4.1 that a perceived tendency for the number of prolongation syllables to rise (sometimes steeply) towards the end of the hemistich may be interpretable in terms of an initial emphasis on the communication of verbal meaning making way for the later foregrounding of purely musical features and, indeed, we find in these eight settings that the first word, which has no semantic context to guide the listener, is, as before, the least distorted of all. But otherwise similarities are less easy to discern and the only piece among the eight *tarānas* that seems to follow the previous pattern throughout is 1. All the others, to varying degrees, but in some cases very markedly, exhibit a profile in which the first word (a (i)) is followed by a prolongation peak (b (i)), a trough (a (ii)), and a further peak (b (ii)) after which the number of prolongation syllables

<sup>79</sup> Ignoring, therefore, vowel (or consonant) lengthening, the distribution of which may be assumed to be broadly similar throughout.

falls again (a (iii)) at the end - that is, they have what may be called an M-shaped profile. The difference between this and the previous rising profile is unlikely to be form-specific: one of the *taqsūms* discussed in 2.4.1 was also from a *tarāna* and, as noted, one of the eight discussed here does not have the M profile. Of the other two one-line settings in G (neither assigned to a form) one has a very evident M profile, the number of syllables in the various segments, ordered successively, being 3, 17, 6, 22, 4,<sup>80</sup> while the other has a pronounced first peak but is thereafter unexpectedly level until the final fall, the syllable count being 3, 14, 7, 7, 3.<sup>81</sup> The one other setting of this line in NO is classified as an 'amal. It is not obviously assignable to one type or the other, but is rather intermediate: it has a peak on *min ajli* rather than *hawāk* but, if the two together are held to constitute the end, then this has a clearly higher degree of prolongation than what precedes, which is quite level, the syllable count being 3, 3, 4, 7, 5.<sup>82</sup> The previous interpretation of the fairly straightforward low-high incidence of prolongation will obviously need amending to take account of the M profile, but not, it may be suggested, radically. To the notion of a progressive shift in the status of the verse from superordination to subordination may be added the conclusion that in the aesthetic of the period the natural emphases and emotional weight that would attach to certain key nouns and verbs did not need to be reflected by melodic amplification as articulated through prolongation: the emotionally more significant words are allowed to communicate more directly, that is, with rather less musical distortion, while the more neutral and (as belonging to closed-list word classes) more predictable grammatical elements may be treated with greater freedom: here distortion resulting from multiple prolongations allows more purely musical elements of modal and rhythmic structure to be foregrounded without either interfering with the emotional texture of the verse or occasioning any severe problems of communication.

Reference has already been made to the effacement of the metrically vital short-long syllable contrast, and in the absence of prolongation syllables this certainly occurs: 8, for example, begins *ahwā:kā: wā:law* (for *ahwāka wa-law*). But consideration of the distribution of prolongation syllables in the eight *tarānas*, the totals for which (including echo prolongations but omitting intertextual inserts) are as follows:

80 G: 83a. The setting is: *ahwā:ka wā lakakah hakakah hakakah hakakah ahākah kaw zū:nikihi'i'tu mi'i'i'i'ikīn hīkīkīn hī'ikīk kīkī: kīn ahakkah hakk<sup>a</sup>j:liki hawā'a'ak dhākkah hār'i'ūi [j<sup>a</sup>a]nīmākan.*

81 G: 122b. The setting is: *ahwākā walākaw ahakkah hakkaw ahakka kahākaw zūnikkihi'i'tu mi:kin ākk<sup>a</sup>j:li'ūi hawā'ak:*

82 NO: 18a, by Hājji 'Alī. The setting is: *a[h]wāka walākaw zū'n<sup>i</sup>tu mīkin akaj līk kīkī haw(a'a)ka.*

ah wā ka wa-law da nī tu mīn aj lī ha wā k  
 cvc cvv cv cv cvc cv cvv cv cvc cvc cv cv cvv c<sup>83</sup>  
 2 3 1 0 69 3 24 0 33 21 8 1 14 6

suggests that the relationship of melody to verse was by no means arbitrary: in each of the semantic elements the amplification is concentrated on the long stressed syllable while, except at the very end of the hemistich, a short syllable preceding or following the stress is in most cases devoid of prolongation syllables (there are in all a mere five for 32 such text syllables). The same relationship also holds for the grammatical elements: the short text syllables have far fewer associated prolongation syllables - *wa* indeed having none. But if it can be demonstrated that metrical structures are by no means disregarded, the relationship between melody and metre is clearly subordinate to that between melody and sense, which appears here to be dominated by a deliberate oscillation between two levels of musical amplification or distortion of the text, the lower for words where the emotional and semantic charge is high, the higher for those where it is low.<sup>84</sup>

But a melody so articulated in relation to the verbal structures and emphases of H1 is repeated for H2 and, as with strophic settings generally, may well have been inappropriate to its often quite different distribution of semantic and grammatical elements. As the details of the setting are only given for H1 it is normally impossible to say whether some corresponding adjustments might have been made, but reference to second *taqsims* in longer pieces suggests that such was unlikely, and direct confirmation is provided by one of the eight *tarānas* under consideration, 91b, which contains rather more than usual of H2 in the *sarband*-like repeat which makes up the second subsection of the *bāzgašt*:

*taqsīm*: zū' ūnikkī hī' i tu mikkīn hī' i' i' i' ikkī hī' ikik kikkī kīy  
*bāzgašt*: gā: rā:kkā hā' a mi fakkal hī' i' i' kīhikkī hī' ikik kikkī kī

*taqsīm*: a{ 'a' a } jli hawā' a k dirtan: tan: tīnā: ājā:kā:n a{ 'a' a' a' } 'aj  
*bāzgašt*: r{ ū' u } ūhu fī' idā' ak dirtā'n: tā'n: tīnā: ā:jā' a kān rū{ 'u' u' u' }

*taqsīm*: lī . kkl hīkī h{ i' i' i' } ha' a' awā' a { a' a } kkākkā kāk  
*bāzgašt*: hū' u ūkkū hukū h{ ū' u' } fī' i' i' dā' ā ā:kkākkākkāk

<sup>83</sup> The metrically required cvvc is here supplied by apocopation of an original *wāka*, the final (short) vowel of which is restored in three settings.

<sup>84</sup> An extreme case of prolongation being concentrated on grammatical elements occurs in G: 246a, where the second syllable of the initial *agar* 'if' has, with echo prolongations, no fewer than 31 syllables attached to it, while later in the hemistich (*agar bā mardum-i dārā nīšīnī*) the grammatical suffix -i has 25 prolongation syllables. Isolating these, the profile becomes: 0, 31, 1, 25, 8. It may be noted that the preference for prolonging grammatical elements rather than semantic elements (resulting in a very pronounced M profile) here overrides the tendency found elsewhere for communication to be safeguarded by having a low level of initial prolongation.

In this particular instance, at least, the distribution of elements is faithfully retained. As a result, the extensive syllable inserts in H1 after *law* and *min* appear in H2 between a definite article and its noun, so that their positioning, it could be argued, is just as reasonable (or unreasonable) as before in relation to the text, in each case following an emotionally neutral grammatical particle. But such functional congruence is fortuitous, and elsewhere one finds, say, that the substantial amplification of the prepositional *ajli* 'account of' on its second appearance is transferred to the noun *rūhu* 'soul', with as a result no fewer than seven prolongation syllables being added to the short atonic syllable *hu*, which comparison with the H1 distribution would class as unlikely to receive any at all. (Analogy with the other grammatical particles suggests that the first syllable of H2, *aw* 'or', would also normally have had a number of associated prolongation syllables, rather than be left, as it presumably was, in its original form. It is possible, however, that its initial position in the hemistich and the associated need for comprehensibility would have inhibited elaboration.) In any event, the obvious is worth stating: the text unit for the composer is not (the conceptual unit of) the line, but (the metrical unit of) the hemistich - with the consequence that there is a premium on setting initial lines which exhibit internal rhyme (two-line settings being therefore almost invariably of the *rubā'i* form) and, as an equally important corollary, do not contain a word which spreads across the mid-line break; further, the unit of text for which the setting is composed is specifically H1.

The example of 91b also reinforces the argument of the end of 2.4.1: repetition of a verse fragment serves the formal needs of the composition, and the point at which it starts may be textually illogical. To begin with *garāmi* makes little sense, as it occurs in the middle of a noun phrase, and is also semantically connected to the preceding verb; but at least it jars less than the *sarband* text fragments of the other settings. These unanimously restrict themselves to the last four syllables of the hemistich, that is in H1 *ajli hawāk*, in which the first word is the second member of a compound preposition: the structural criteria dictating this choice cannot have been other than purely musical.

#### 2.4.3. Text and form

Mention of the *sarband* leads logically to a consideration of the possible impact the length and proportions of the piece as a whole might have on the setting of the verse. At this point we may appropriately introduce the two two-line *tarānas* plus a third two-line setting (not assigned to a form) in G. In these one might predict, on the basis of the previous survey of forms, that the setting of H1 would tend to be compressed rather than expansive, and such is, indeed, the case in NO: 153b and G: 70a, where we have:

NO: 153b     *ahwāka walaw ʔunītu min ajlikī hakawā'akah kākkak*

(with, incidentally, no extension of *wa-law*, thus providing an exemplary instance of the low-high prolongation profile)

G: 70a     *ahwāka wahakah kalaw ʔunītu min akah a'a'ajlī kīkī  
hakakah wahākakāk*

Even more extreme is NO: 172b, in which H1 appears in its original form throughout with no amplification whatsoever. Such would, however, be unusual even in a five or six-line setting, and it might therefore be argued that the initial verse text has inadvertently been copied out again, a conclusion that would render less remarkable the otherwise unprecedented contrast between the stark setting of H1 and the numerous prolongation syllables of the *miyān*: it is difficult to accept that such diametrically opposed styles of text setting should not merely coexist within the same piece, but even be juxtaposed. It may also be observed that the verse fragment (the canonical last four syllables of H1) repeated at the end of the following *tarannum* exhibits a quite normal degree of elaboration<sup>85</sup> and, although such a fragment does not always coincide with the main *taqīm* setting, identity or close similarity is more likely than not. As far as the *taqīm* is concerned there is consequently some doubt about the evidence of NO: 172b. But there is no reason to doubt that of NO: 153b and G: 70a, and in regard to these the question then arises of whether the relative brevity of the setting could be a consequence of the greater length of the text, the greater formal complexity of the piece, or its overall length.

The first point to be made is that although these two settings are among the most succinct, they are not both shorter than all the one-line songs,<sup>86</sup> so that the most that might be discerned is a trend. But overall length would certainly not seem to have been a significant factor in determining any such trend: there is no evidence of a norm to which the composer had to adhere. In any case, NO: 153b and G: 70a have totals, with repeats, of some 300 syllables, placing them roughly mid-way along the length range of the one-line settings which, with one exception, stretches from approximately 225 to 360. The setting of H1 could thus have been made considerably more elaborate without pushing the total length above the higher figure. This is equalled by NO: 172b as it stands, but even if the setting of H1 (and consequently also H2 and H4) is regarded as suspect and the much higher figure reached in the *miyān* substituted, the resulting total of some 480 syllables is still considerably below that of 6, the exception among the one-line settings, which weighs in at a massive 590.

<sup>85</sup> The setting is: {a'a'ajlī} hawā'a'ak ari'kiki jā'akānimākan.

<sup>86</sup> The five shortest settings are: NO: 153b (two-line), 19 (syllables); NO: 12a (one-line), 20; NO: 18a (one-line), 22; G: 70a (two-line), 27; NO: 112b (one-line), 29.

Variations in total length are thus considerable, and their relationship to the varying degrees of elaboration in the verse setting can only be one of effect, not cause.

Length of verse text and formal complexity generally go hand in hand, but at the level of a two-line setting there is no very strong reason for regarding them as possible constraints on style: melodic compression seems to become marked only in settings of four lines and above. NO: 153b is generally modest to average in its section sizes: three have about 40 syllables each, the remainder, including all the text sections, about 20; G: 70a reaches the same total with fewer sections but a longer *bāzgašt* of nearly 100; while NO: 172b has in addition to a *miyān* of 50 odd syllables a *bāzgašt* of well over 100. Such variability must result, essentially, from decisions made by the composer, so that, again, neither the formal properties of two-line settings nor the increase in the length of the text set can be viewed as having in themselves a significant effect on the dimensions of the verse sections.

That these may, indeed, be lengthy as well as brief in two-line settings is clear from the reference above to the florid nature of the *miyān* of NO: 172b, and some indication of the extent of variation possible may be given by juxtaposing it with the *miyān* of the *mustazād* transcribed in 2.3.1.2:

NO: 70a            *šl' i{rīn<sup>1</sup>} {d<sup>a</sup>.a<sup>w</sup>}ri hū:srawi hū:bākāni 'ā'alamī'i'iki*  
 NO: 172b        *mā:' kū'u k{ūn}tu id{ā'a'a} kā'ā: kā' kākā hākākkākk{ā'a}  
                     *k{ā'a'a} la'a'a'a' ka'am a'akū hukkū fiki kiki*  
                     *k{i'i'i}kil h{ū'u} kū{bbi} kā:d{ā'a'ak}<sup>87</sup>**

The *miyān* can thus accommodate just as wide a length range as that encountered in the *taqsims*, and the differences between the extremes, at least as represented by these two examples, are to be attributed not to the requirements of a particular form but rather to the stylistic preferences of the composer. The longer one exhibits approximately the same distribution and character of prolongation as that discerned in 2.4.2, or at least as much as is allowed by the very different density of semantic and grammatical elements: the former consist essentially of just the noun *hubbi* 'love', for which the number of prolongation syllables is sharply reduced after the extensive elaboration allotted to the previous emotionally neutral material, and in particular to the negative particle *lam* 'not', the preposition *fī* 'in', and the second syllable of the conjunction *idā* 'if' (which has no fewer than 15 prolongation syllables with, in most, the vowel being marked as long or extra long). Worth noting is the fact that, although the first two words are also quite colourless, the degree of amplification accorded them is

<sup>87</sup> The text is:

*mā kuntu idā lam aku fī-'l-hubbi kadāk...*  
 (I would not, if I were not thus in love,...)

relatively low, from which one might conclude that the principle of comprehensibility tends to operate at the beginning of a hemistich whatever the nature of the material.<sup>88</sup>

If the move from one-line to two-line texts thus appears to have little or no effect on the scale of verse sections, the same is not true for much longer settings. As pointed out in 2.3.2.7 and 2.3.2.9, there is a tendency in settings of four lines and more for verse to begin to encroach on areas that in three-line settings are still reserved for syllable material, and for there to be fewer prolongation syllables in verse sections, particularly the *āwiza*, in which the setting of the first hemistich in the block is normally repeated without the intervention of syllable material until all the lines are completed. But, inevitably, this pattern is not always adhered to, an obvious exception being G: 4a, a setting of no fewer than twelve lines in which the syllable sections remain intact and the *malw* (= *āwiza*) contains more prolongations per hemistich than the other verse sections: the *taqsim* has 7, the *miyān* 5, and the *malw* no fewer than 18.

The relationship between verse areas and the remainder of the composition can best be elucidated by referring back to the sample of one-line settings of *ahwāk*. The basic data are presented in table 5, which gives for each setting (including the '*amal*') first, the total syllable count for verse and non-verse material respectively,<sup>89</sup> then the successive section headings with for each (unless a repeat) the number of syllables contained (irrespective of their status as verse or non-verse). If we ignore the extension to 6 and accept that in 8, as argued in 2.4.2, something akin to a *sarband* is included in *taqsim* and *bāzgašt*, the formal structure of all these pieces is effectively identical: *miḡluh* is, as far as one can tell, synonymous with *awwal*, and the two pieces with a *tarannum* are simply so marking off that part of an extended syllable stretch which will not recur later.

<sup>88</sup> Although, as seen elsewhere (note 84), it could be overridden by the need to concentrate prolongation on grammatical particles. In further confirmation of the general validity both of the principle of initial comprehensibility and of the distribution of amplification in relation to semantic and grammatical elements we may cite a *taqsim* in which the former far outnumber the latter, which consist only of the definite article *l*, the preposition *bi*, and the possessive suffix *ka*:

āḡākkān ḡūrifat b<sup>i</sup>wākaḡ hi hikiḡ ki h(r<sup>i</sup>) kikiy hi hiki ki ki hi<sup>i</sup>kiy ayhay  
ayah ayhay ayhā' a'a' wākaḡyī j<sup>i</sup>yākkahā' dīkah k<sup>a</sup>ka hākah a'a' a'a' a'a'  
a'a' akal amḡākkā hā' ā' drū' u' ū

Thus the first word and a half are presented with only one prolongation syllable, after which comes a lengthy insert; the second word is then begun again and the text continues (with only three prolongation syllables to five text syllables) until *kal* - the combination of the possessive suffix and the definite article - within which 16 prolongation syllables are embedded, the whole producing a clear M profile.

<sup>89</sup> Syllable inserts within verse are considered verse; word elements in verse sections are not. Verse elements in syllable sections are counted as verse. Figures are to the nearest 5: they are meant only as approximate guides to proportions (total accuracy in any case not always being possible).

	verse	non-verse	taq.	tar.	sar.		bāz.	
1.	60	225	20	45	65	<i>miḡluh</i>	70	<i>sar.</i>
2.	80	145	30		65	<i>awwal</i>	35	<i>sar.</i>
3.	110	250	45		85	<i>awwal</i>	100	<i>sar.</i>
4.	160	200	65		70	<i>miḡluh</i>	95	<i>sar.</i>
5.	110	130	45	40	25	<i>awwal</i>	70	<i>sar.</i>
6.	120	470	45		95	<i>awwal</i>	125	<i>sar.</i> <sup>90</sup>
7.	110	155	45		45	<i>awwal</i>	90	<i>sar.</i>
8.	220	100	95			<i>awwal</i>	130	
'amal	60	170	20		65	<i>awwal</i>	50	<i>sar.</i>

Table 5

Variations in section length cannot, therefore, be attributed to formal differences. These are virtually non-existent, and one can at the same time dismiss the notion that choices made by a composer with regard to the distribution of the verse within the piece might affect the proportions of the setting: even the extent of the verse fragment repeated in the *sarband* is identical throughout. Apart from 8, which is clearly exceptional, it will be seen that within the different sections the variations in size are broadly comparable. The relationship of longest to shortest is approximately two and a half to one in the (*tarannum* +) *sarband* (110-45), three to one in the *taqsīm* (65-20), and three and a half to one in the *bāzgašt* (125-35). Three and a half to one is also the approximate ratio of non-verse to verse in 1, the *tarāna* with the lowest amount of verse material, but it is equally impossible to discern a causal relationship here, brevity in one triggering length in the other: 4 and 5 have significantly different amounts of verse but virtually identical proportions, while 6, which has twice as much verse as 1, has an even higher (almost four to one) ratio of non-verse to verse. With longer settings there may tend to be a higher proportion of verse but, equally, similar ratios to the above may certainly be observed in two-line settings. G: 1a, for example, has approximately 150 (verse) to 200 (non-verse), very close to 4. Where the number of lines is much greater the balance inevitably shifts, but the *bāzgašt* at least may remain nearer the upper end of the range found in table 5.

If the quite marked variations in the extent of elaboration exhibited by the eight *tarānas* have not been influenced by structural pressures, it would be reasonable to try and attribute them to the differing creative responses of the composers to the verse. But by 'composer' has to be understood - especially for

<sup>90</sup> 6 continues with two further sections: *naql-i digar* 90 *sar...*



the ancients who figure so prominently here, Ṣafī al-Dīn, 'Alī Sitā'i, and Suhrawardī - the composer as modified and recreated by the oral tradition at the time the anthology was written, in Ṣafī al-Dīn's case possibly two hundred years later. In relation to the three pieces ascribed to him several conjectures might be made: for example that, if authentic, they represent, whether or not substantially modified in subsequent transmission, the wide range of stylistic diversity available within a seemingly uniform technique of verse setting and the resourcefulness of a single composer in exploiting it; that the exceptional amount of textual amplification in 8 is best explained by subsequent embellishment, and that 2 and 3 are therefore probably closer to the original form (in which case one might wonder why only one of the three should be so affected); or, on the contrary, that the very abnormality of 8 (like a *lectio difficilior*) is more likely to be evidence of genuineness, in which case the bland normality of 2 and 3 might result from later analogical reformulation. But all are equally speculative, and an attempt can only be made to tackle such questions when the relevant historical evidence is marshalled - that is within the context of the diachronic framework to be adopted in subsequent sections. (It is also within such a framework that the modal and rhythmic nomenclatures contained in NO/G may most profitably be considered. Indeed, an account that did not attempt to situate them in relation to both earlier and later definitions and distributions could result in little more useful than a straightforward term list with an accompanying frequency table.)

#### 2.4.4. Word and syllable

There remain, therefore, to be considered here the utilization, in both verse and syllable sections, of word material and, in rather more detail that hitherto, the phonetic properties of the syllable material. Word elements are nowhere dominant (to the extent that one would wish to speak of a word section)<sup>91</sup> but tend to appear at certain conventional points in verse or syllable sections. Convention also governs the choice of words at these various points, and even the nature of the prolongation syllables attached to them. A very clear example may be seen in the common addition of *ārī* 'yes' and *jān-i man* 'my soul' after the repetition of a text fragment concluding a syllable section. Thus from 2.3.1.2 we may quote the *qawl* (second *tarannum*), *tarāna* (*sarband*), *firūdāšt* (*sarband* 2), and *mustazād* (*tarannum* 2):

ārikkī jakā' ānimākan  
 āhā āhārikikī jakā' ānimākan  
 āhā āhārikīkī kī jakā' ānimākan  
 āhā āhārikikī jā' ākānimākan

<sup>91</sup> NO: 18a and 37a provide examples of pieces entirely devoid of them.

and instances of this particular pairing are also to be found at the end of verse (*taqṣīm*) sections, as in 2.4.2:

3.        *ārikiki jākā' nimākan*
4.        *ārikiki jā' ānimā:kan*

One may further note that in three of the syllable section examples (but in neither of the verse section ones) the amplification of the first syllable also suggests the incorporation of *āh* 'ah!'. The very close similarities in the number, nature, and position of the prolongation syllables clearly point to this being a formulaic section conclusion<sup>92</sup> (although it must be assumed that there was no single corresponding melodic formula, but rather a range of mode-specific cadential formulae to which it might be fitted). Word elements are also, if less frequently, associated with section beginnings and, as indicated in 2.3.3.4, internal juncture. The repertoire consists of:

*ārī*        yes;

a number of exclamatory particles:

*ā, āh, āy, hā, hāy, ī, wā, wāy;*

and a number of nouns conventionally associated with love poetry (those marked \* frequently being followed by the possessive suffixes *-am* or *-i man* 'my'):

<i>dōst</i>	friend	* <i>mīr</i>	prince
* <i>šāh</i>	king	* <i>nūr</i>	light
* <i>jān</i>	soul	* <i>'umr</i>	life
<i>maḥbūb</i>	beloved	<i>yār</i>	friend <sup>93</sup>

Of particularly frequent occurrence, in addition to the *ārī* + *jān(-i man)* phrase already noted, are *dōst* and *yār*, both singly and in combination. Some, but not all, nouns (optionally preceded by particles and/or *ārī*) appear in all three contexts, while particles, which are normally associated with nouns, occasionally occur by themselves, either initially or as markers of internal juncture. The use of word elements is nowhere obligatory; but where they do occur it may reasonably be said that, in addition to possessing an affective value

<sup>92</sup> Variation is, however, possible: the *taqṣīm* of the *ghazal* in 2.3.1.2 has *āh* + *hāy* + *yār* + *jān-i man*.

<sup>93</sup> Further examples occurring in just one piece (NO: 22a) are (*wa*) *ḥabīb* 'beloved' and, echoing it as a later internal junction marker in the *bāzgašt*, (*wa*) *ḥabīb* 'doctor' (here one who cures the ills of love). The third *tarannum* of the same piece inserts *ašwāqī* 'my longing' before the final verse fragment.

that long familiarity had not perhaps wholly dulled, they constituted a system of punctuation: their formal function is to signal beginnings, ends, and transitions, usually between the primary levels of verse and syllable.

The phonetic consistency of the latter has already been mentioned - but not considered in detail - in 2.3.3.3, and extensive illustration has been provided in 2.3.1.2, with further, juncture-related, material being presented in 2.3.3.5. But a precise account requires a schematic inventory, and the following table displays the total syllabic range found in three or four randomly selected examples from NO of each of the major sections. The *hung*-like element sometimes encountered in a *sarband* is given a separate heading; *v* and *vv* are discriminated, but the latter also serves for *vv*: (and *c* likewise for *c*):

*mustahall* (1b, 3a, 37a, 160a)

<i>a ā</i>	<i>ta tā tā'</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>rad</i>	<i>la lā</i>	<i>na nā nā'</i>	<i>yal</i>	<i>ka kā</i>
<i>an</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>dī</i>		<i>lī</i>	<i>nī nay</i>		<i>kan</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>tad tar</i>	<i>dīr dūr</i>		<i>lan lal</i>	<i>nan</i>		
	<i>til</i>	<i>dār</i>		<i>lah lah</i>	<i>nah</i>		
				<i>līl līr</i>	<i>nāk</i>		

*tarannum* (1b, 3a, 92a, 160a)

<i>a ā</i>	<i>ta tā tā'</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>rad</i>	<i>la lā</i>	<i>na nā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>hā</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>dī</i>		<i>lī lay</i>	<i>nī nī</i>	<i>yī</i>	
<i>an</i>	<i>tan tah</i>	<i>dīr dūr</i>		<i>lan</i>	<i>nan</i>		
	<i>tad tar</i>	<i>dār</i>		<i>lah</i>	<i>nah</i>		
	<i>til til</i>	<i>dīl dīn</i>		<i>līl līr</i>			

*bāzgašt* (1b, 37a, 92a, 160a)

<i>a ā</i>	<i>ta tā</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la lā</i>	<i>na nā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>kā hā</i>
<i>an</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>dī dī</i>	<i>rī</i>	<i>lī lī lay</i>	<i>nī nay</i>		<i>kī</i>
<i>āh</i>	<i>tan tah</i>	<i>dīr dūr</i>	<i>rad</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>nan</i>		<i>kay hāy</i>
	<i>tad tar</i>	<i>dīl dār</i>	<i>rah</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>nah</i>		
	<i>tat tak</i>	<i>dīn</i>		<i>līl līl</i>	<i>nāk</i>		
	<i>til tīl</i>			<i>līn</i>			

*naql-i dīgar* (54b, 103b, 108a)

<i>a</i>	<i>ta tā</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la lā</i>	<i>na nā</i>	<i>kā</i>
	<i>tī tīn</i>	<i>dī dīn</i>	<i>rad</i>	<i>lī lī</i>	<i>nī nāy</i>	<i>kāy</i>
	<i>tan tal</i>	<i>dīr dīr</i>	<i>rīd</i>	<i>lan lah</i>	<i>nan</i>	
	<i>tad tar</i>	<i>dīl dar</i>	<i>ral</i>	<i>līl lal</i>	<i>nah</i>	
	<i>tīl tīl</i>		<i>rīl</i>	<i>līn lar</i>		
			<i>rah</i>	<i>lay</i>		

*sarband* (12a, 69a, 69b, 112b)

<i>ā</i>	<i>ta tā</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la lā</i>	<i>na nā</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>kā</i>
	<i>tī</i>	<i>dī dī</i>	<i>rad</i>	<i>lī lī</i>	<i>nī nāy</i>		<i>kāh</i>
	<i>tan tar</i>	<i>dār</i>	<i>rah</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>nan</i>		<i>hī</i>
	<i>tīl</i>	<i>dīr</i>		<i>lah</i>	<i>nah</i>		
		<i>dīn</i>		<i>līl lar</i>	<i>nāk</i>		
				<i>lay</i>			

*sarband* (*hung*-like material) (1b, 12a, 69a)

<i>a ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>wā</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>dīl</i>	<i>kī kī kay</i>	<i>hī</i>	
<i>āī</i>		<i>kīl</i>	<i>hīk hīk</i>	

*hung* (20, 26a, 44a, 46a)

<i>a ā</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>wā</i>
<i>ay āh</i>	<i>kī kay</i>	<i>hī hī hay</i>	
<i>ī</i>		<i>hah</i>	
		<i>hāk</i>	

Apart from the quite explicit confirmation this evidence provides of the identical nature of the syllabic resources employed in the great majority of sections, the most striking feature of the table is its selectivity. Of the three vowel qualities indicated by the Arabic script only two appear; but the pruning of the consonants is far more extreme. Even if it were to be argued that it would be natural to exclude any consonant, an Arabic pharyngeal say, not also part of the phonetic inventory of the other languages, we still find that from the remaining

common pool as many are omitted as included.<sup>94</sup> Further, of those represented /w/ and /y/ are marginal, while the *hung* consonants /h ' k/ seem to fulfil nearly the same role as they do in the prolongation of text syllables: *h* is generally syllable-final and, given the preference for final over medial graphic form, must normally have been perceived as equivalent to a word-final consonant - as suggested before, it may in this context have had a primarily orthographic function, indicating the presence not of /h/ but of /a/; /' / (which is quite rare) and /k/ normally function in the same way as in contexts where they would be unambiguously defined as forming prolongation syllables. Far more common in any case are the remaining consonants /d t r l n/, which undoubtedly form the core of the syllable material. All, it will be noted, are dental, and they are thus clearly contrasted in terms of point of articulation with the guttural set /h ' k/. But such contrast could also be provided by a set including (or indeed consisting exclusively of) alveolars and labials. The reason for the narrowness of the core set - but not for the choice of this particular set - is perhaps to be sought in the ease of articulation provided by a homorganic cluster of which, it may be added, all but one are voiced.

A further contrast is with the phonetic richness of the verse. If prolongation syllables within the verse employed a wider range of consonants, meaning might well be disturbed, but in a context void of lexical meaning no such constraint need be felt, and it could therefore be argued that concentration on just a small group of related consonants, together with the reduction of the vowel range to a single binary opposition, constitutes a phonetic minimalism that is less a passive vehicle for, than a positive enactment of, the essential semantic emptiness of syllabic material. Verse and syllable are thus diametrically opposed, not only in the obvious contrast of presence and absence of meaning, but in their very substance: between them, the contextless sense of the word elements, ejaculatory and emotional, may be viewed as a form of mediation.

If the phonetic material of syllable sections is transparent, allowing attention to be focused exclusively on melodic and rhythmic structure, one might assume it to be potentially fluid, and wonder why such care should be lavished in NO/G on recording it in often very considerable detail. In fact, the particular sequences of syllables making up a given section must have been perceived to be not merely just as integral to the composition as the poetic text, but also just as stable. In the absence of a semantic underpinning one obvious explanation for such stability would be that syllable strings had mnemonic function, becoming in effect pseudo-words that aided both memorization and transmission. In this

<sup>94</sup> Peculiar to Arabic are /t d z d t z h ' /; while foreign to it are /c z p g n/ (the last being peculiar to Turkish). The consonants omitted from the common pool are /b m f j s z s h q/. The extent of reduction would be much greater if one were to accept the contrary argument that if musicians are capable of singing texts in various languages, the phonetic inventories of those languages should not merely be negotiable but available for utilization in non-verse areas.

respect one may add that although nothing approaching a standard pattern characterizing the structure of a section as a whole can be detected, there is sometimes a tendency towards bunching, certain syllables appearing more frequently in given areas than others, so that distribution may not have been wholly random. One might extract, for example, the structure

*ta (+ na) → dir → lilla + formula in -ay*

as a common outline, exemplified in nuclear form in the proto-*mustahall* beginning of the *taqsim* from the *qawl* transcribed in 2.3.1.2:

*tanahdir tar lālālālay*

and expanded somewhat in the first, repeated, section of the *bāzgašt* of NO: 3b:

*tanananah dir t<sup>a</sup>n: tardil.lanah dīrtan dīrt<sup>a</sup>ni t<sup>a</sup>ni t<sup>a</sup>ni t<sup>a</sup>ni t<sup>a</sup>ni talal lal  
lal.lā dir tālah lākay*

Nevertheless, in many sections, and particularly the longer ones, no such pattern is evident, and it should be emphasized that there is no single underlying structure. More characteristic, perhaps, is the ordering of syllables in small clusters: *ta*, for example, is followed regularly by *na* or *nan*, *dir* by *tan* or *nā*, *ti* by *li*, and not the other way round, so that one can generalize a preference for the order stop + continuant. The most striking feature of the syllable material remains, however, less such small-scale regularities than the rigid observance of the narrow phonetic restrictions outlined above.<sup>95</sup>

## 2.5. Ox and S

Discussion of the other antecedent collections will need to cover much the same ground, but not necessarily in the same way, nor, fortunately, at the same leisurely pace. It will also have to take account of whatever developments may have occurred during the period of at least a half and possibly as much as a whole

<sup>95</sup> With the sole exception in NO of 132a: but this is a sport, a piece which contains a *bāzgašt* in rhymed prose addressing all races under the sun (it begins *ay ahl-i 'ālam w-ay nasl-i ādam*), and containing such parody syllable material as *tinkānu pirinkānu sirinkānu čirinkānu* (in the *sarband*) and *ay zirzirzir yākā zirzir yākā ay zirzirzir yākā zirzir yā jiwjīw ...* (in the second *miyān*). Mention may also be made in this context of G: 123a, a satirical piece containing some normal syllable material but also such distortions as *baqbaq qūqū šaqšah qūqū šarjalālāh šaqšah šaf šaqšaqūqū baqbaqūqū šarjalā lah šaqšah šaf*, and G: 28a, where the Arabic verse begins in a perfectly normal way, only to disintegrate into five lines of gibberish emphasizing the more difficult sounds for the non-native speaker, the last two being:

*šufuṣun šufuṣun ḥuḍuṣun fuḍuṣun furuṣun nuḥuṣun quruṣun hurubu  
fuḍuḍun ḥuḍuḍun ḡuṣuṣun nuṣuṣun luṣuṣun duduḍun nukuṣun ququḍu.*

may reasonably choose not to follow the same itinerary. In fact, we may conveniently resume where we left off, and compare different versions of the same pieces, considering first details of the syllable sections.

As previously noted, there are five songs which are common to all three collections. For present purposes just one of these is sufficient, and we may select for consideration a one-line setting which is recorded twice in Ox, so that we have in all four versions (NO: 37a, Ox Ouseley 127: 18a, Ouseley 128: 16a, S: 65a). The principal difference between NO/G and the later collections is that only in the former is there a consistent and detailed account of the amplification to which the poetic text was subjected. For the other compilers, presumably, the text itself had sufficient mnemonic function, and no further detail was normally necessary.<sup>96</sup> Consequently, in comparing the various versions the text sections may generally be disregarded. In the present case, however, S does indicate a syllable insert in the first hemistich, so that here the *taqsim* may be taken into account in addition to the syllable sections. In these the only significant notational divergence is that the later versions, contrary to those of NO/G, are almost devoid of vowelling. In the following transcriptions of S and Ox any short vowel that does happen to be indicated in the original is underlined. The others have been supplied either on the basis of the version in NO, where there is complete or close identity in the sequence of consonants, or by analogy with comparable material elsewhere. The results are thus in a certain sense approximate reconstructions, but no particular harm is caused thereby as far as comparative inferences are concerned. A further minor difference in notational practice is that consonant length is notated in S and Ox not by *˘* (*madda*) but by the doubling sign *ˆ* (*tašdīd*): the same value (:) has been accorded to this in the transcriptions. S and Ox also exhibit differences in formal terminology: these will be considered below, and only the terminology familiar from NO will be given here.

### 2.5.1.1. Material

Of the two versions in Ox, Ouseley 127: 18a is placed first. The vertical lay-out is designed to display points of identity as clearly as possible, but in order to do so certain syllable strings that are written as one word in the original have had to be split. The repeat of the *sarband*, not given here, is partially written out in the originals, and exhibits certain variants. The symbol \* added after a syllable indicates that it is omitted from this repeat. We thus have:

<sup>96</sup> When details are given they are clearly similar to those in NO. In S: 119b, for example, the text syllable *mā* is followed by the prolongation syllables *hākkā kahākkā*, while in S: 10a text repetition is also indicated, the piece ending *ṣafarī ki hiki kihikiki ṣafarī hiki ṣafarī kihikiki*.

NO (mustahall) *tana tīl lillar dala dīr tannā tīl lillan tīl lillir tanī*  
 S *dīr tīl:an dīr dalah dīr tā nā tī līl:an tī līl:ir tanī*  
 Ox *dīr tī lan dīr dal:ah dīr tā nā tī līl:an tī līlir tanī*  
 Ox *dīr tīl:an darah dalah dīr tā nā tī līlan tī līl:ir tanī*

NO *tan:nah dīrdīr tan nannā*  
 S *tan:nah dīrdīr tan: nā*  
 Ox *tanananah dīrdīr ta nā*  
 Ox *tanannah dīhkīrdīr ta nā*

NO (taqsīm) *za'amā kal būnafs aha' ahā'a k<sup>ah</sup> ahā'a kah ahā'a kah*  
 S *za'ama l-banafsaj ayhay ahāk kā hā kah*

NO *nafsaj akakannahū'u {ū'ū} {ū'ū} ū{ū'ū} ū{ū'ū} kūkkūkkū ka'a 'idākā*  
 S *annahu*

NO *rīkī hī'īkī kīkī īhī kīkī ikay:*  
 S *hay mīr-i man*  
 Ox *hay mīr-i man*  
 Ox *hay mīr-i man*

NO (sarband) *dīr ta'ā an tanah dīrdīr na'ā dīr dīr nā' a' a' tanah dīrdīr*  
 S *dīr tān tanah dīrdīr nā dīr nākā dīr\**  
 Ox *dīr tān tanah dīrdīr nā dīr nākā\*tā dīndīr dīl:ī*  
 Ox *dīr tan<sup>97</sup> tanah dīrdīr nākā dīr nākā datdarah dīlī<sup>98</sup>*

NO *nay tar daladīn tar dala dīn tar d<sup>ali</sup>*  
 S *nā\*tā dīn daradīlī nā kā dara dīlah dīn dar dīlah dīn \*datdar:ah*  
 Ox *nā kā dara dīlah dīn dar dīlah dīn datdarah*  
 Ox *nā kā darah dīlah dīn dar<sup>99</sup> dīlah dīn datdar:ah*

NO *ta'ānanī tananī tanannah nana'ā' ay: tī:n ta:nī tanā nānā*  
 S *dīlī ta nanī tananī tan tanā<sup>100</sup> ahā dīrtīn tanī tananananā*  
 Ox *dīlah ta nanī tananī tan ahā ahā dīrtīn tanī tananā*  
 Ox *dīl:īr<sup>101</sup> ta nanī tanah tanan tīnā kā'hā<sup>102</sup> dīrtīn tanī nah<sup>103</sup> tananā*

97 The sarband repeat has *tān dīr tān*.

98 The sarband repeat has *nākānā datdarah dīl*.

99 The sarband repeat has *dīrah*.

100 The sarband repeat has *tanāhā*.

101 The sarband repeat has *dīl:ī*. In view of S, it is possible that *dīl:ī* was meant here too.

102 The sarband repeat adds *ahā*.



NO *til lillarad ladil lanah dil lanah dirta' hā til lillā:nā ātardalah*  
 S *til:in dargah dilah til: anah til:anah dirtan:ā til:il:ā*  
 Ox *til:in dara dilah til: anah tilanah dirtanā ti lillilililā*  
 Ox *tilil:in darah dilah tilil:anah dirtan:ā ti lillanah*

NO *lālālā lallā ka'a 'idākārikī*  
 S *hālay<sup>104</sup> dar dīlī tananananā ka- 'idā rih*  
 Ox *tilil lā hā ahālay dar dīlī tanananā ka- 'idā rih*  
 Ox *tilil lā hā ahālay darah dil tanah tanah nā ka- 'idā rih*

NO *hī'iki kiki thī'iki hīkiki hī'iki hīk kī*  
 S *hay<sup>105</sup> mīr-i man hay*  
 Ox *hay mīr-i man hāy*  
 Ox *hay mīr-i man hāy*

NO (bāzgašt) *tanah dīrnākkā dana dīlī diri dīlī dara dīlī dana*  
 S *tanah dirtan dāra dīlī dīra dīlī dāra dīlī dīradil dara*  
 Ox *tanah dirtan dara dīlī dīra dīlī darg dīlī dīradil darg*  
 Ox *tanah dirtan darah dīlī dīrah dīl darah dīl dīradil darah*

NO *dilah tīlil lill:ān dirtā: nātīl lill:ān tā: nan dīr tānak kādir*  
 S *dilah til:il:ilan dīrtākānā til:il:an tākānan dīr tākāhānā dīr*  
 Ox *dilah til:il lan dīrtānā til:an tānan dīr tāhā ahānā dīr*  
 Ox *dilah til:il līl:ilan dīrtākānā til:ilan tākānan dīr tākāhānākādir*

NO *tā:nātanah dīrdīrnay tādīr dīl:lah*  
 S *tākānātan tīllīnā tīrdīrnay datdar:ah dilah dīndīrah dilah*  
 Ox *tānā nan tīlīlanā tad dīrnay datdarah dīl:ah dīndīrā dīl:ah*  
 Ox *tākānā jān<sup>106</sup> tīlīl:anā tanah dīrnay datdar:ah dīl:ah dīndīrah dilah*

NO *til līl lillā'a an tana tīllīn tanadīn tarlīl tara*

NO *dīl lanah dīl lanah dirtan*  
 S *tilanah til:anah dirtan tākan*  
 Ox *tilanah til:anah dirtan tan*  
 Ox *til:anah til:anah dīrtakan*

103 The *sarband* repeat adds *nā*.

104 The *sarband* repeat has *hā ahālay*.

105 The *sarband* repeat has *hakay hakay hay*.

106 *jān* is clumsily written: possibly *tān* was intended.

## 2.5.1.2. Commentary

A preliminary issue concerns the degree to which these four versions may be considered accurate reflections of the piece as sung or remembered by the compiler, for on this depends the possibility of defining the area within which differences between them may be dismissed as insignificant. At the same time, it presupposes the question of the stability of a given composition from performance to performance, the wider the permitted latitude of interpretation the less significant any discrepancies in the written form. That there might be some variation between different area traditions can hardly be doubted: the problem here is, rather, whether the aesthetic ideals to which each compiler subscribed favoured fidelity to a fixed and possibly quite detailed melodic form or encouraged a certain freedom in performance permitting, within limits, the creative reworking of a perhaps less specific pre-composed outline. On this the evidence of NO/G is, fortunately, unambiguous: the dominant impression this collection leaves is of scrupulous care and attention to minutiae, and one would reasonably conclude that if precision and accuracy were important in the recording of a piece they were important also in performance, the implication being that a composition was less a broad sketch allowing fairly freely embellishment than a precise ideal to a correct rendering of which the singer should always aspire. It is true that NO/G at the same time exhibits slight changes in repeat passages, suggesting that not every detail was immutable. Nevertheless, what variations there are in syllable sections - which might be thought potentially less stable than verse sections - normally concern not the overall sequence of syllable groupings but only definitions of vowel or consonant length within them; similarly, variation in verse or word material, in any case slight, is associated primarily with differing methods of notating the prolongation syllables and occasional hesitations with regard to vowel length. The conclusion is inescapable: the singer was required to reproduce the composition faithfully. Improvization could only have taken place, if at all, in the interstices between sections: any significant freedom to alter the textual outline (and, by implication, the melodic outline) of the main body of the piece would have made it pointless to attempt to record it with the kind of detail found in NO/G.

The technique of the other two anthologies is rather less precise. But it cannot be deduced from this that a greater degree of interpretative freedom had become the norm, for it is only by comparison with NO/G that they appear sparse. They contain no less information than later Ottoman song-text collections and, like them, may be regarded as working documents functionally adequate to the needs of the singer.<sup>107</sup> Consequently, no significance attaches to

<sup>107</sup> They may, indeed, have been consulted during performance: it is quite likely that the book held by the singer in a miniature in the Süleymanname (Anl 1986: 157) is just such a collection.

the fact that, contrary to the practice of NO/G, verse sections are represented only by the unadorned verse itself, none of the prolongation syllables being specified: this would generally be sufficient as a mnemonic device and it is, therefore, of greater relevance to note that syllable sections are recorded just as fully as in NO/G, save only for the normal absence of the vowel signs. Given the habitual omission of short vowels in the Arabic script it is in fact NO/G which is exceptional in including them, and the highly predictable nature of the majority of small scale syllable strings means that they are in any case frequently redundant. Admittedly, there are variations, signalled in the footnotes to 2.5.1.1, between the first and second accounts of the *sarband* within each single version, but apart from what may be presumed to be the occasional slip,<sup>108</sup> they are minor, tending to suggest a degree of approximation concerning the use of the *hung* syllables (cf. the various inclusions and omissions of *kā* and *hā*) for prolongation purposes within syllable sections. The main consonant sequence, such material apart, has evidently been carefully preserved, save only, as noted above, for a certain waywardness in the notation of length (for vowels as well as consonants).<sup>109</sup>

With regard to the differences between the earlier and later versions, the impression created by the *mustahall* is that they are relatively insignificant. It has changed a little at the very beginning, but is otherwise virtually identical in all sources. The *sarband*, on the other hand, does not seem to have survived quite so unscathed: it exhibits near identity initially, shows a degree of divergence in the middle, has a further stretch where all versions converge, but again shows some variation towards the end, before the verse-fragment conclusion. The alterations to the *bāzgašt* are of a similar order: the general outline is retained, but with some changes of detail, a few small-scale additions and, towards the end, a rather more significant omission.

This last can reasonably be interpreted as the discarding of a stretch of melodic material. Elsewhere, however, the significance of the differences is less easy to understand. It is tempting to assume, straightforwardly, that omission of a number of syllables implies melodic loss and, conversely, that addition means gain, while substitution means alteration. Unless melodic material could be pulled around to other positions within the rhythmic cycle, the omission of two or three syllables, accepting that it does not entail the loss of a complete rhythmic cycle,<sup>110</sup> would on this view result simply in a pause. (As an alternative possibility one could envisage the melismatic extension of the preceding syllable(s).) But the addition of an equivalent amount is less easy to account for:

<sup>108</sup> e.g. the omission of *dir nā* in S, probably a straightforward case of haplography.

<sup>109</sup> And the occasional hesitations as to the inclusion or omission of a final *h* might again suggest that it be interpreted as standing for /a/ rather than /h/ (so that e.g. *drh* might have the value *dara* rather than *darah*, the function of the *h* being to prevent the realization of *dr* as *dar*).

<sup>110</sup> Particularly in the case of the longer cycles. The composition displayed in 2.5.1.1 is in the cycle *ḥaḥif*, which almost certainly had 32 time units.

might it indicate extra material filling in a previously existing pause, melodic embellishment with short note values so that rhythmic displacement is avoided, or merely syllabic subdivision of a single pitch or melisma? Substitution also raises questions of scale: if extensive it may reasonably be assumed to correlate with melodic change, but if not, as say with the replacement of *dirnākkā* by *dirtan* in an otherwise identical passage at the beginning of the *bāzgašt*, one might be inclined rather to consider the possibility of a change in style in preferred syllable sequences having no melodic implications whatsoever. But if the interpretation of such phenomena is by no means assured, it is at least clear from the juxtaposition of the NO version with the later ones that there are one or two passages towards the end of both the *sarband* and the *bāzgašt* where the differences are of such an order that some degree of melodic loss, gain or substitution can hardly be doubted. Overall, a crude computation would suggest that in both sections the amount of textual variation is of the order of 20 to 30%. The differences between the two versions in Ox are, by comparison, trivial, the explanation for them, for once, obvious: they are not in the same hand, and the second compiler evidently knew a marginally different version of the piece - possibly, indeed, even being unaware of the precise contents of the first volume, and of the form that had already been included there.

### 2.5.2. Relationships

Reference to the other four pieces common to NO, Ox and S suggests that the nature and degree of the changes sketched above was probably standard, and the same is true of the piece in NO of which there is a later version only in S. Indeed, the picture presented by the various versions of all of these is so similar to that in 2.5.1.1 that nothing of substance would be added by giving them in full. The versions in S and Ox are, as expected, extremely close, and both vary from that in NO essentially by no more than the omission (or, occasionally, the addition) of a few short syllable stretches. This is also broadly true for the two pieces common to G and Ox, with the exception of the *bāzgašt* of one,<sup>111</sup> the first half of which has been replaced in the later version with quite different textual material: the structure of the various versions of each piece is the same. Thus, although very few songs seem to survive, those that do are preserved not only in their broad formal integrity but also, for the most part, in considerable detail. However, it would be unwise to extrapolate from the degree of similarity the earlier and later forms exhibit at the textual level that the melodic fabric of a given composition would also be expected to survive virtually intact over long time-spans.

<sup>111</sup> G: 246a, Ox Ouseley 127: 6a. The other piece is G: 167a, Ox Ouseley 128: 94b.

The only regularly observed points of difference concern details in the distribution of certain syllable sequences and, perhaps more significantly, variations in word elements. With regard to the former we may note the assimilation  $r + l > ll$  (e.g. *dir lar > dil lar*), and occasional substitutions of  $d$  for  $t$  (e.g. *tar > dar*) or  $t$  for  $d$  (e.g. *dillanah > til: anah*); but the evidence is insufficient to point to anything approaching a systematic set of sound changes. Indeed, the most striking difference is less a change than an addition: the appearance in Ox and S of the common sequences *datdar(:)a(h)* and *dindarah* which are unknown in NO.<sup>112</sup> With the latter, the slots into which word elements are to be fitted remain in the same positions, but the elements themselves are quite freely varied. Thus in one case<sup>113</sup> we find that the ending of the *tarannum* exhibits nearly the same ingredients, but differently disposed, NO having after the syllabic material *jān-am + dōst*, while S and Ox have respectively *jān-am + 'umr-am* and *dōst + 'umr-i man*, with the syllable material interposed. Similarly, among the other pairs in NO and S, we find that the *tarannum* of one (NO: 83a and S: 127b) ends in NO with *yār*, and in S with *'umr-am*, while the beginning of the *bāzgašt* similarly contrasts *hayyār* with *hā jān*; in another (NO: 3a and S: 89b) the *taqsim* ends in NO with the standard *ārī jān-i man*, in place of the first element of which S has *wā rūhl*. Further substitutions may also be made: as shown in 2.5.1.1, NO has at the end of the *taqsim* (and again in the text fragment repeat concluding the *sarband*) a syllabic extension jettisoned in Ox and S in favour of a word element, and one, moreover, that would not normally occur in this position in NO. Substitution of one word element for another, or the addition of one where the appropriate slot had not formerly been filled seems to have been quite normal (as noted previously, the semantic spectrum is narrow, and the import, it might be suggested, less lexical than ritualistic). Whether the melodic line was thereby affected is difficult to tell: a reordering of melodic material, with the word elements being correspondingly rearranged, is quite feasible; but rather more likely is the substitution of one conventional word element for another within a probably equally conventional melodic cadence area: the more predictable the melody, the greater the freedom to vary the text. Certainly, the fact that S may have *jān-am* corresponding to Ox *dōst* (surrounded by otherwise identical material) cannot be thought to have implications for melodic differentiation.

What it does raise is the general issue of the transmission of the repertoire. Quite apart from the clear, if minor, differences between the later and earlier versions of the pieces common to all three, the simple facts that only such a tiny proportion of the contents of NO/G finds its way into Ox and S, and that while the latter have a great many pieces in common, they have more that

<sup>112</sup> The former may have been derived by dissimilation from *tatdar* or *tadtarah*, which is found in NO/G, or possibly by metathesis from *taddar*. But these are in any case far less frequent.

<sup>113</sup> NO: 160a, Ouseley 128: 19b, S: 73b.

are not, mean that the three anterior collections embody not the direct transfer of material from manuscript to manuscript, but separate and independent recordings of various elements of an ever-evolving repertoire. But although the contrasting contents of the earlier and later collections are useful primarily for the light they shed on the development of the tradition, they also provide information about the relationship between the three manuscripts themselves. From the fact that the number of pieces common to NO/G and S is almost the same as that common to NO/G and Ox, even though Ox is by far the larger of the two later collections, it would be hazardous to deduce that the former relationship is marginally the closer. But that such may well be the case is also suggested at the level of detail: in the *mustahall* of the two-line setting,<sup>114</sup> for example, Ox, but not S, introduces new material, while at the end of the (unexpected) syllable passage in the *miyân* it is again S that remains closer to NO. From such evidence it cannot be demonstrated, contrary to the conclusion reached in 1.3.1, that S is earlier than Ox, but it does seem as if the latter represents marginally the greater drift away, or distance from, the line represented by NO/G; and the direction in which it is drifting may be adjudged to be rather more directly towards what, a century later, will be the specifically Ottoman tradition. In its modal and rhythmic terminology, for example, Ox is slightly closer than S to seventeenth-century Ottoman sources, and it contains, as S does not, a whole category of pieces the texts of which are in Turkish, in a form not previously recognized.

The relationship of proximity but not identity in the versions common to Ox and S is not confined to the few pieces also in NO/G. A random sample of six pieces ascribed to *Gazanfar*<sup>115</sup> shows very few clear structural discrepancies: one has a *ğazal* section in one version only, another has different verse texts in the *miyân*. Other differences (a syllable string in a *miyân* and an indication of internal repetition in a *bāzgaşt* which are found in only one version) may indicate no more than forgetfulness. At the textual level we find a possibly lower level of divergence than before in the basic syllable material, but an equal degree of freedom in the substitution of alternative word elements and also, interestingly, a measure of disagreement on the nature and number of prolongation syllables in the few areas where these occur within syllable material, suggesting either that, as with the variable word material, they tended to appear in areas of considerable melodic predictability, so that the mnemonic function of the text was partially redundant, or that they may, at least in these contexts, have been not associated individually with discrete pitches in melismatic passages but, primarily, indicators of note length.

<sup>114</sup> NO: 3a, S: 89b, Ox 128: 86b and 146b.

<sup>115</sup> Ox Ouseley 127: 4b, S: 138b; Ox Ouseley 127: 41a, S: 105a; Ox Ouseley 127: 42a, S: 95a; Ox Ouseley 127: 47a, S: 135a; Ox Ouseley 127: 70b, S: 124b; Ox Ouseley 127: 71b, S: 100a.

We may turn, finally, to a composition ascribed to Ṣafī al-Dīn, in theory, therefore, as ancient (and as liable to have evolved into widely differing forms) as any of those discussed above. The form given here is that of Ox (Ouseley 128: 83a), transliterated directly, so that there are no short vowels not in the original, and final -ay appears as -ī. Apart from possible differences in the notation of length (and of short vowels), S (9a) is identical except for the variants given in the footnotes, and the bracketed areas, [ ] marking material only in Ox, { } material only in S. The initial line of text may be omitted, as no indication of amplification is given in either source:

*hā tn dīm didar dīlnā drnā drdn drdlh dn dradla [dn dradl:h] drtnā tām illnnī  
 tnnā dīl:rh dīl:rh dīl:rh dīl:rh dīl:rh dīl:r tnnnnnnh dīr:lh l:h drnī<sup>116</sup> tāhā  
 tnnnī tnnndr<sup>117</sup> tāmā tn illnnī tnā tnā tannndr<sup>118</sup> tnā tnā hā trāl:h dīr nāhā  
 tn:nnā tnh dr drnī hā yār qamari [kikiki] wā ahī hī jān<sup>119</sup>  
 bāzgašt: {tn illnī tn:nā tnh} dīdrnī dradīā yllllī {drl:h drtn tām illā: yllā:  
 yllā yllllī dīdrh drtn:ī tnnndrnnī} dōst tn illnī tnnā tnh dr drnī dardīā yllllī  
 drdlh drtn tām illā yalalā yalalā yll:llī dīdrh drtnī tnnndrnnī dōst tll:r tnl  
 tnnī tnn:ndr dr tīlln tā dīrl:n tn illā lā dr tā llī tn:ā tn:ā tnā [hā] tām  
 drtnnā tnh drdrnī maḥbūb drdlī tn illā yllā yll:ī tn<sup>120</sup> drtānā tn illnh dīr  
 tānāhā drtānh tlllllllll [tn] tā[hā] lālālī tāhā tāhā lālī<sup>121</sup> drad tāhā lālālī  
 wāy drdn tn drln tām<sup>122</sup> darad[in] tā[lā] hālā [l:ā] lī [kikiki yāhāhālī 'mrm]  
 tāhā ahā lī tāmākā drtā[nā] [tāhā] mh drdrnī dradlī tn:nī tnnī tāmā  
 {duḡūl} tn illnī [tn:ā tn:ā llā āḡirih]*

The differences between the two versions again concern principally the inclusion or omission of material. The first omission from S, since it concerns an immediate repetition, may be no more than simple forgetfulness on the part of the compiler. More significant would appear to be the omissions from Ox at the beginning of the *bāzgašt*, but it will be noted that both passages recur, in the same relative positions, between the first and second *dōst* elements, so that the discrepancy is perhaps more likely to have resulted from analogical extensions in S than omissions in Ox: in any event we are not faced here with the absolute loss of substantial amounts of material. Only towards the end of the *bāzgašt* do we encounter a series of differences, individually minor, yet pointing cumulatively towards potentially independent lines of melodic development. The

116 S: *drnā*.

117 S: *tnnī tnn:dr*.

118 S: *tnī tām:nl*.

119 S: *wā hā ī hī jākāmnn*.

120 S: *yllllī tām*.

121 S: *tāhā lālā ll:l*.

122 S: *tn*.

variation at the end, however, is not a matter of substance, for what we encounter here are merely alternative ways of notating the onset of the *sarband*-like repeat of the latter half of the first syllable block, only S marking this with the technical term *duḥūl* (the final phrase in Ox is equivalent to 'etc.').

### 2.5.3.1. Sections

As there are in fact no good grounds for accepting the ascription and hence for considering this piece a genuine ancient composition, the degree of similarity between the two versions is hardly surprising. Indeed, if there is anything extraordinary to be noted, it is not the degree to which Ox and S do or do not differ, but rather the length of the *bāzgašt*, which at some 240 syllables is considerably in excess of the average found in NO/G. However, we have seen that the formal structures observed in NO/G, at least for one and two-line settings, are maintained unaltered in the later collections, and in general it seems to be the case that the proportions of the various syllable sections are also relatively unchanged. (The verse sections are of course no longer given in full, but it may be assumed by analogy that they are also unaffected by any dramatic change in length: techniques of setting are inevitably not open to the same kind of detailed scrutiny as with NO/G, but what material there is suggests the maintenance of the same processes of amplification.)

To be precise, we should now speak not so much of syllable sections but of syllable areas, for although the *bāzgašt* is still explicitly defined as such, the area between the settings of H1 and H2 is never labelled, so that there is no separation of *sarband* and *tarannum*. However, if it is accepted that the justification for the two terms relates primarily to a distinction between repeating and non-repeating materials (so that in the terminology of NO the first half of the first syllable passage in 2.5.2 would be a *tarannum*, the second, beginning *in illnī in:ā in:ā*, which recurs at the end, a *sarband*) and has no implications for internal differentiation, we may for present purposes consider the area as a whole and, taking it in conjunction with the *bāzgašt*, compare relative length in relation to the approximate syllable counts presented in table 5 (2.4.3), for Ox contains a further seven settings of the same line, none of them identifiable with those in NO.

Table 6 gives an (approximate) quantification of the two syllable blocks in the Ox settings. They yield an average of 70 and 66 respectively, whereas the previous set (adding *tarannum* and *sarband* together and omitting 103a, which has no explicit *sarband*) has corresponding average figures of 69 and 74. Contrary to what might be inferred from the extremely long *bāzgašt* noted above, this larger sample shows a slight reduction, but not enough to be considered significant: the general proportions seem to have remained quite stable. It should, nevertheless, be noted that although the relationship between the particular line



		syllable area	<i>bāzgašt</i>
Ouseley 127:	5v	71	84
	19a	79	74
Ouseley 128:	89a	99	83
	95a	84	40
	100a	48	94
	101b	37	67
	102b	71	23

Table 6

set and the *tarāna* form (however non-functional it may have become) is maintained in Ox,<sup>123</sup> two of the seven pieces, including one of the four explicitly designated a *tarāna*, have a substantial *mustahall* equivalent, a feature found in none of the NO/G settings.

As is apparent from the above discussion, many of the formal structures exhibited in NO/G survive unaltered in the later collections, whereas the technical terminology used to label the various internal sections suffers quite considerable change. Some terms are retained, but others are supplanted, and yet others simply omitted altogether. Furthermore, such terms as there are tend to be used relatively sparingly: one or two pieces appear, indeed, without any internal markings at all. Normally, however, a few technical terms will be inserted, the most common being familiar from NO/G: *miyān* (*hāna*), *bāzgašt* and, albeit less frequent, *mustahall*. The same method is also employed to indicate immediate repetition, but equivalent to the *t* abbreviation of NO/G we find the full term, *takrār*. Where repetition is not contiguous the term most frequently employed in NO/G is *sarband*. This is absent from S and Ox: in its place we may find (in Ox only) the device of overlining to mark the point from which repetition should begin, and the term *duḥūl* to show where it is to be placed. Also absent from the later collections are the verse-section terms *taqsim*, *awwal/miṭluḥ*, and *āwīza*. The first has no equivalent (possibly because the details of the verse setting are not given); to the second corresponds *jadwal* or, in its full and more common form, *jadwal-i ṭānī bi-'aynih*, used to designate the first repetition of the melodic material of H1 for the setting of H2 or, in longer pieces, the repetition of the material of H1 and H2 for the setting of H3 and H4; and to the third corresponds *šī'r* (only in S) or, more commonly, *ḡazal*. As in NO/G the *ḡazal* text may be entered at the head of the piece after the main text, the term *ḡazal* then appearing after the *bāzgašt* to indicate the point of onset of

<sup>123</sup> Four are so defined, while another is called, coyly, just 'a *nawba* movement', and yet another (possibly incorrectly) is assigned to the *firdās* form. It is not unreasonable to see a reflection of the *tarāna* connexion in these further, unusual, associations with the *nawba*.

the setting, the details of which, as might be expected, are omitted; or, as is standard practice in Ox, no indication of the *ġazal* text is given until its appearance after the *bāzgašt*. A further term occurring only in Ox is *duḥūl-i naqara-i awwal*. This seems not to be synonymous with *duḥūl*, but to correspond to the earlier *awwal* rather than to *sarband*; in other words it indicates a repetition of a verse section rather than a syllable section (+ word/verse fragment). Either one may occur at the end of a piece, but whereas *duḥūl* is normally followed by a syllable string showing where the repetition should commence within the first syllable block, there is no such indication for *duḥūl-i naqara-i awwal*. It might be thought that such absence could imply inclusion of the whole syllable block, but that *duḥūl-i naqara-i awwal* is associated rather with a verse section repeat is established by comparison with S, where the corresponding slot is filled by a fully written out hemistich with no accompanying syllable material.<sup>124</sup> The two may also occur before and/or after the *miyān*, and it may be noted that the appearance of *duḥūl* between *jadwal-i tānī bi-'aynih* and *miyān* provides evidence, generally absent from both NO/G and S, that in certain compositions at least some of the syllable material following the setting of the first hemistich (or line) would reappear after the repeat of that setting for the second hemistich (or line).

The differences in section terminology between NO/G on the one hand and Ox and S on the other may be displayed as follows:

NO/G	Ox/S
<i>mustahall</i>	<i>mustahall</i> <sup>125</sup>
<i>taqsim</i>	----
<i>tarannum</i>	----
<i>hung</i>	----
<i>sarband</i>	(overlining)
<i>taqsim 2/awwal/miṭluḥ</i>	<i>jadwal-i tānī bi-'aynih</i>
<i>sarband</i>	<i>duḥūl</i>
<i>awwal</i>	<i>duḥūl-i naqara-i awwal</i>
<i>miyān ḥāna</i>	<i>miyān ḥāna</i>
<i>bāzgašt</i>	<i>bāzgašt</i>
<i>naql-i digar</i>	----
<i>malw/āwīza</i>	<i>ġazal/ṣī'r</i> <sup>126</sup>

Table 7

<sup>124</sup> Ox also contains one or two instances of *duḥūl-i jadwal*, which makes the verse association explicit.

<sup>125</sup> Sporadic in S, absent from Ox.

<sup>126</sup> *ṣī'r* only in S.

The sections are listed in the normal order in which they first appear in the course of a composition. Omitted from the later collections are the various numbers, letters ( $t = takrār$  apart) and punctuation marks used in NO/G to mark subsection boundaries or points of transition in pieces containing changes of mode or rhythmic cycle, the former function being fulfilled in Ox by the device of overlining the onset of the new subsection.

### 2.5.3.2. Longer settings

The one area in which internal structure may have changed is that of the longer *āwīza/ġazal* settings. Taking a random group of five pieces in S containing a *ġazal* section,<sup>127</sup> we may note the consistent inclusion of a following (unheaded) syllable section, after which comes a final reference back to the *ġazal* text, in three cases the final hemistich, in another the penultimate (presumably implying that the final was also included), but in one case the second half of the second of four hemistiches. In this respect the S examples differ from the normal structure in NO/G, where the *āwīza* text may well be followed by a syllable section, but a final verse section will normally be part of the preceding main text and consequently embodies a melodic recall of earlier material seemingly absent from the form as presented in S. The use of the term *ġazal* here, especially in the light of the general omission of formal nomenclature in S at the level of the piece, and the absence of any reference to the *nawba* form as a whole, is suggestive; however, the notion that such pieces might not in fact be directly comparable to the *āwīza* settings in NO/G, but could rather result from a fusion of previously separate, if normally juxtaposed, *qawl* and *ġazal* pieces is difficult to sustain, since one would not then expect the *ġazal* section to be so compressed. Nor would one expect to find, as one does in S: 131a, a *ġazal* section in Arabic. Perhaps more likely is the possibility of terminological assimilation, the main text + *āwīza* sequence being perceived as parallel to the standard *qawl* + *ġazal* pairing, with the result that *ġazal* replaces *āwīza*, and survives in this context while becoming obsolete in that of *qawl* + *ġazal*.

The evidence of Ox also runs counter to the suggestion of a main text + *ġazal* form separate from the main text + *āwīza* form of NO/G. Here the settings with a *ġazal* section conform rather to the NO/G type in that they indicate a recall of pre-*ġazal* material at the end of the piece, albeit not necessarily the setting of an earlier hemistich: Ouseley 128: 92b<sup>2</sup>, for example, concludes with a repeat of the syllable section in (or after) the *miyān*. One may also detect in Ox a certain freedom in the application of the term *ġazal*. Thus in Ouseley 128: 92a there are five lines of text, and although the last is unrelated to the first four it is not designated a *ġazal*, while the opposite applies in 128: 103a: there are

<sup>127</sup> Fols. 130b, 131b, 133a, 133b, and 137b.

again five lines of text, but although they form a single block, the last two are marked off as *ğazal* material. Lastly, one may note 128: 98b, which has an exceptionally long text broken up into various sections, some called *ğazal*, others *qit'a*.<sup>128</sup>

#### 2.5.4. Forms

As might be expected from the detailed survey of internal structure in NO, close examination of S and Ox would doubtless reveal occasional unusual features. One could cite from Ox, for example, two pieces having a second *bāzgašt*,<sup>129</sup> and from S one with nine lines of main text followed by four lines termed *ğazal-i bāzgašt* and then a further two headed *ğazal-i āḥar*, and in which the *miyān* comprises H13-H15.<sup>130</sup> But the dominant impression, despite the changes in terminology for some sections, remains that of a broad continuity in the patterns of internal structure.

Changes in terminology may also be observed at the level of the piece as a whole. Two *qawls* are qualified as *muraṣṣa'*,<sup>131</sup> although there appears to be no associated structural peculiarity: they have in common nothing more than the combination of Arabic and Persian in their verse texts. But in general the decline of the *nawba* meant that there was less need to maintain the labels for its various movements, the structure of which was virtually identical, so that while terms such as *qawl* or the vague heading *qit'a-i nawba* 'a *nawba* movement' may still be encountered, the formal vocabulary of NO/G has become marginal in the later collections. In Ox, for example, where there is a larger representation than in S, we find in all two complete and two incomplete *nawbas*, and a scattering of a further thirteen pieces identified as *nawba* movements.<sup>132</sup> In S the picture is far bleaker: one *qawl* + *ğazal* pair, one *qawl*, and another piece defined merely as a *nawba* movement. Not merely under-represented in both, but not present as formal headings at all, are the other two common terms in NO/G, *čār qarb* and 'amal. Both retain their other use as the names of rhythmic cycles, but no longer function as category terms, although since the latter has exactly the same meaning ('work') as the later common form term *kār*, the possibility might be entertained that the use of it to designate a particular song type had gone underground rather than ceased completely.

<sup>128</sup> A particular feature shared by a set of seven pieces (Ouseley 127: 92a-94b) by Mawlānā Ḥ'ājja Rūmī is for the *ğazal* to employ a different rhythmic cycle, most frequently *dawr-i mī' atayn*.

<sup>129</sup> Ouseley 127: 30b, a five-line setting which has the first (*bāzgašt-i awwal*) after H6, while the second (*bāzgašt-i dāni*) concludes the piece; and Ouseley 128: 86a, in which the two are (strangely) juxtaposed.

<sup>130</sup> S: 106a. Instead of *āḥar* 'other' it would be possible to read *āḥir* 'last'.

<sup>131</sup> Meaning 'encrusted, studded with jewels'. They are S: 45a and 106b = Ox Ouseley 128: 98b.

<sup>132</sup> Five *qawls*, three *ğazals*, one *firūdāst*, one *tarāna* (written *tarān*), and three unspecified *qit'a-i nawba*. For references see chapter 1, note 29.

Rather than *čār đarb* or *'amal*, the category that one would expect to have disappeared is the *šawt*, marginal in NO/G and, apparently, structurally unique. But, against all the odds, two examples appear in Ox,<sup>133</sup> while there are further five pieces, four in Ox and one in S, with the heading *šawt al-'amal*.<sup>134</sup> The two *šawt* examples conform to expectations. One consists of two lines of verse followed by a syllable block and then a repetition of H4, the other of three lines of verse, a syllable block (to be repeated), and the beginning of H2. There is, as before, no mention of *miyān* or *bāzgašt*, and again an indication that the syllable material occurred after each hemistich, and that the piece concluded with a repetition of the final hemistich. The *šawt al-'amal* in S could also be adduced in confirmation of the conclusions reached in 2.3.2.8 with regard to form. The three lines of verse are followed directly by a syllable block with internal repetition (aab) and then by H2 with a final word element containing internal prolongation syllables. This suggests that the material following H2 was new, not having been appended to the setting of H1, but otherwise the only difference between this and the three-line setting recorded in G is the positioning of the syllable block between H1 and H2 rather than after H2: it must be assumed that the lay-out of material for the first line would simply be repeated in relation to each subsequent one. Of the four *šawt al-'amal* in Ox three (all in an untidy later hand) give three lines of verse each with no further information whatsoever, but the fourth has a perfectly orthodox non-*šawt* structure, consisting of two lines of verse, a syllable block, *jadwal*, *miyān* (setting a third line), *bāzgašt* and *ğazal*. Faced with such incomplete and contradictory evidence, it is unfortunately impossible to reach any conclusion about the implications of the term *šawt al-'amal*.

Of the four other terms introduced in the later collections, *tašnif*, *naḥş*, *pēšraw* and *dā'ira*, the last three are peculiar to Ox. With *tašnif* ('composition') it is not wholly clear whether we are dealing with a specific category or with the occasional use of a general item of vocabulary. But the latter would seem more likely: the term is restricted to the second volume of Ox, is associated with a different hand, and is applied to the second Ox version of the piece transcribed in 2.5.1.1, the first version of which has no such heading. More interesting are the other three terms, partly for their formal implications, but primarily for what they tell us about the nature of the repertoire as a whole.

#### 2.5.4.1. *naḥş*

With the *naḥş* we have the first evidence for the introduction of settings of Turkish verse on any significant scale. Indeed, Ox contains no fewer than 90

<sup>133</sup> Ox Ouseley 128: 21b and 105a.

<sup>134</sup> S: 89a, Ox Ouseley 127: 62b (2), 63a, Ouseley 128: 7b.

pieces<sup>135</sup> in this form, 13% of the whole collection. Particularly striking, and susceptible of being interpreted as implying recent innovation, is the fact that the overwhelming majority (84 of the 90) are by a single composer, Qarāja Aḥmad.<sup>136</sup> One may also note as a significant shift of emphasis the fact that of the (only) 30 *naḥṣ* for which a rhythmic cycle is specified, no fewer than 26 are in the otherwise rare *ṣarab angīz*, but beyond this novel association it may be assumed that innovation is likely to have been restricted to the purely linguistic domain, the substitution of texts in a new language taking place within existing patterns of formal organization. Unfortunately, the manner in which the *naḥṣ* pieces are presented makes it rather difficult to establish whether this was in fact the case, although in one obvious respect the *naḥṣ* does differ at the formal level from the range of settings previously encountered, for it provides no examples of one or two-line settings.<sup>137</sup> There are a few four-line settings, but in the great majority of cases we are presented with three lines of verse (rhyme pattern *aabaca*), normally followed by an approximately equal amount of syllable material internally divided into three or four sections by means of red overlining of the beginning syllable string of each. But the relationship of these to the verse is not indicated, and there is a complete absence of any terminology for the various sections of the piece. The commonsense assumption that the various syllable segments did not all occur one after the other subsequent to the completion of the verse setting (if so, the only reason for marking internal divisions would be to indicate repetition, and for this the explicit instruction *takrār* is normally used elsewhere), but were distributed between the hemistiches of the verse, is lent support by a few cases where the standard method of presentation is fortunately avoided. Both 44b<sup>2</sup> and 44b<sup>3</sup>, for example, insert a syllable section after H1 and another after H2, while 44b<sup>1</sup> has a syllable section after each of the first four hemistiches followed by the remaining text only. These suggest as a normal pattern alternation of text and syllable sections, but further examples indicate that it was not the case that a *naḥṣ* would always begin with a text section and end with a syllable one. It is true that 48a<sup>2</sup>, which begins with a syllable section (with internal repetition) might not be representative, but clearly less exceptional are those cases (such as 71a<sup>1</sup> and 71a<sup>2</sup>) in which a reprise of H2 is indicated after the final syllable section. But if this makes the most likely internal structure of the *naḥṣ* one of alternating text and syllable sections with a potential final repeat of a text section, it is still not possible to say whether it resembled other forms with regard to patterns of melodic repetition on the one hand, or the contrast of *awwal* and *miyān* settings on the other.

<sup>135</sup> Not taking into account four added in clearly later hands.

<sup>136</sup> And four of the remainder are anonymous.

<sup>137</sup> With the possible exception of 71a<sup>4</sup> (all *naḥṣ* are in Ouseley 128), if complete, and 71b<sup>1</sup>, which has only one line of text, but also includes space for more.

What one or two *naḥṣ* do reveal, to a greater extent than the remaining material in Ox, is the nature of textual amplification. A simple example suggesting retention of at least some of the techniques fully displayed in NO/G is provided by 69b<sup>1</sup>, where *var* appears as *vakākār*, but a much more complex instance is the first hemistich of 69a<sup>4</sup>:

*kani ol de'e'e'ekem kikum sevehekerdüküm ben senī*  
*cā'a'a'akānüküm gibihiki hāy*<sup>138</sup>

which not only confirms the continuing use of the consonant set /h ' k/ to form prolongation syllables, even for texts in a language where /' / is a marginal phoneme existing only in Arabic loanwords, but also suggests that at least in certain cases the level of elaboration as measured by the number of such syllables could be comparable to that recorded in NO/G. From just this one example it is impossible to say whether similar distributions, with their potential aesthetic implications, were also found. It may be noted that amplification only affects syllables that are metrically long, which would accord with previous practice; but as far as the relationship between musical and semantic priorities is concerned, the emphases here run counter to what the normal patterns of NO/G would lead us to expect, for although grammatical elements (e.g. *-düm*, *gibi*) are not completely devoid of prolongation, the two major series of prolongation syllables affect the semantic elements *dem* 'time' and *cān* 'soul'. It is also interesting to observe that although the elaboration of the first half of H2 matches exactly that of H1 there is insufficient similarity at the end to guarantee melodic identity throughout - some degree of variation seems more likely.

The syllable and word material is, as one would expect, broadly similar to what is encountered elsewhere in Ox. In some cases a predominant use of the syllables *ya* (marginal in NO/G) and, particularly, *la* may be observed, but otherwise there appears to be nothing untoward. Word elements normally occur at the end of syllable sections, and include in addition to the much favoured *sultān-i man* (especially in final position)<sup>139</sup> the familiar *šāh-i man*, *'umr-am* and *maḥbūb-i man*, and introduce further *mīrzā-yi man*, *šūh-i man*, *benīm ḥ'ājam* and *murād-i man*, all within the same semantic spectrum as the previous ones.

<sup>138</sup> Short vowels in the prolongation syllables have been supplied on the assumption of identity with the preceding text vowel.

<sup>139</sup> Where one may note a tendency for there to be a prefixed *a* and for *y* to appear in place of the final *n* (possibly as a result of the fusion of a prolongation *hā + n* and the word element *hāy*) as in e.g. 71a<sup>1</sup> *a sultānimākahāy* (exhibiting incidentally a lower than usual level of elaboration).

2.5.4.2. *pēšraw* and *dā'ira*

On the basis of the information supplied by the way pieces are recorded in Ox these two terms appear to be effectively synonymous. The former, represented by 75 examples, is much commoner than the latter, which occurs no more than four times; however, apart from relative frequency, the only detectable difference is that a rhythmic cycle is specified for all four *dā'iras* (three *taqīl*, one *ḥafīf*) but for only three (one *taqīl*, two *ḥafīf*) of the *pēšraws*. From this it is impossible to tell whether the *pēšraw* was normally unmeasured or whether the choice of cycle was so restricted that specification was unnecessary. But the essential feature which the two have in common and which separates them from all other forms is that they do not contain a setting of a poetic text, but consist solely of syllable (and word) material.

An alternation of verse and syllable blocks being impossible, their internal structure is also necessarily different. Fortunately, this is clearly indicated, each section except the first being labelled. The form that emerges is a straightforward A B C B D B... in both, the ritornello section being called *sarband* (further confirmation, incidentally, of the essential association of this term with repetition). The other sections are normally three in number (although instances of four, or even five are recorded),<sup>140</sup> the second and subsequent ones being identified as *ḥāna* + the appropriate Persian ordinal number.<sup>141</sup> In one or two cases<sup>142</sup> the *sarband* is placed first, that is, there is a reversal of the order of repeating and non-repeating sections, although the *sarband* again concludes the piece, so that we have an overall A B A C A D A shape. As before, subdivisions are marked by initial overlining, and the segments to be repeated are followed by the term *takrār*. Several sections (including a number of *sarbands*) are accordingly indicated as having an internal aab structure, while aabbc is by no means rare, and in at least one case<sup>143</sup> we encounter aabbccdd. The syllable material employed contains no innovations, and apart from the prominence, already noted in relation to the *naḥš*, of the syllables *ya* and *la* (often in combination) there appear to be no major shifts of frequency or sequencing away from the patterns seen in NO/G. Similarly with the word elements, which make no significant further additions to the existing stock.<sup>144</sup>

The *pēšraw* at least, which constitutes some 11% of the total contents of Ox, can hardly have been marginal to the repertoire. Its importance seems to have been roughly of the same order as that of the *naḥš*, and in view of the fact

<sup>140</sup> Examples of four sections are provided by 37b<sup>2</sup> (all *pēšraws* are in Ouseley 128) and 53b<sup>1</sup>. The one *pēšraw* with five sections is 51b<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> In some cases the ordinal stands alone, *ḥāna* being omitted.

<sup>142</sup> e.g. 50b<sup>1</sup>, 50b<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> 54a first section.

<sup>144</sup> cursory inspection reveals only one: *māh* 'moon'.



that, unlike the *naḥṣ*, it was perceived to represent the involvement of a large number of composers, including prestigious ancient figures such as 'Alī Sītā'i, it could be argued that it is its absence from NO/G and S, rather than its presence in Ox, that is exceptional. Possibly such pieces were regarded as in some sense less worth recording than songs with verse texts, although it can hardly have been the case that the motivation of the compilers was literary rather than musical. But whatever the reason for the absence of the *pēšraw* from other antecedent anthologies, the fact that these pieces are recorded in Ox with a care fully equal to that given to other forms, confirms not only that they were deemed to be of equivalent musical worth but also provides a final and conclusive demonstration that the setting of syllable material was accorded the same status - that is, had the same degree of melodic stability and integrity, despite the semantic emptiness of the text - as the setting of the verse.

### 2.5.5. Mode

If certain formal structures can remain intact while the terminology alters, one should be wary of assuming that a change in modal nomenclature necessarily signifies a change in modal structure, or indeed the converse, that retention of a term implies an unchanging structure. But at this stage, without having recourse to the definitions of theorists (which will be introduced in chapter 4), and with no associated notation, the distribution and frequency of modal terminology, however opaque, is all that can be examined.

The main feature distinguishing NO from the later collections in this respect is not substitution of terminology within the range of modes represented, but the width of the range itself. Because of its deliberately circumscribed dimensions, NO exhibits far fewer mode names than Ox and S: ostensibly, it limits itself to just twelve, the canonic *šudūd* set consisting, in the order in which they are presented, of *rāst*, *'irāq*, *isfahān*, *kūčak*, *buzurg*, *zangūla*, *rahāwī*, *ḥusaynī*, *ḥijāz*, *būsalik*, *nawā* and *'uššāq*. Nevertheless, a few others do make a fleeting appearance, two being mentioned, for instance, in combination with one of the above. We thus have a piece (136b) in *dugāh-ḥijāz*, and another (153a) in *būsalik-māya*,<sup>145</sup> while *māya* is also mentioned in a more explicit description of a mode combination sequence: *nawā maḥaṭṭ-i māya* (162b) i.e. *nawā* ending in *māya*. Further, a number of pieces modulate, not only through all twelve *šudūd*, but also through the second canonic mode set, the six *āwāzes* (the group to which *māya* belongs). But of the many modes beyond the *šudūd* and *āwāz* sets in existence at the period of the compilation of NO, *dugāh* is the only one to be included. Without reference to theoretical accounts of the modal system, in the context of which the modulation sequences might be of significance, the value of

<sup>145</sup> While 153a provides an example of a combination from within the twelve *šudūd*: *būsalik-nawā*.

NO for a study of the development of the modal system is therefore restricted, essentially, to the statistical evidence it provides of the relative frequency of occurrence of the twelve *šudūd*. As may be seen from table 1 (2.1.1) there is, in fact, unexpectedly wide variation, for whereas most of the set are well or at least adequately represented, the compiler's search for pieces in *nawā* and, particularly, *rahāwī*, proved less rewarding. Despite having eleven pages assigned to the latter, only two examples could be found and the final five pages were eventually used to accommodate overspill from the following mode, *ḥusaynī*.

The evidence provided by G is diametrically opposed in kind. Because of its combination of incompleteness and disorder, in many cases it is impossible to tell whether a full set of pieces for a given mode has been given or not, so that useful statistical comparisons are excluded; but because it is not, like NO, restricted to the *šudūd* group, a far greater range of mode names is included. Of the *āwāzes* four occur: *māya*, *nawrūz*, *šahnāz*, and *salmak*, which with 12 examples is the best represented. Its importance is eclipsed, however, by that of a mode outside the *āwāz* and *šudūd* groups, *dugāh*, which with no fewer than 61 examples also occurs far more frequently than the most common *šudūd* mode in NO, *ḥusaynī*.<sup>146</sup> Also outside these two groups is *segāh*, in which there are more pieces than in all but three of the *šudūd*. Together, they demonstrate conclusively that, whatever the prominence accorded the *šudūd* in NO, other modes could be equally, and sometimes more, popular. A further significant feature of G, even if only one or two songs are recorded for each, is the inclusion of a large number of mode combinations akin to the *dugāh-hijāz* encountered in NO: *dugāh-rāst*, *dugāh-iṣfahān*, *dugāh-māya*, *irāq-māya*, *nawā-māya*, *nawrūz-rāst* and *segāh-‘uzzāl*. To these can also be added, analogous to the *nawā mahaff-i māya* of NO, *segāh qarārgāh rū-yi irāq* (which with 6 examples is far less of a rarity).

But if *nawā* and, especially, *rahāwī* appear to be virtually moribund in NO, by the time of Ox and S they have staged an effective recovery and, even if not among the best represented modes, certainly no longer give the impression of being threatened with imminent extinction. In Ox and S the members of the *šudūd* set which occur the least frequently are now *kūčak* and *zangūla*, as may be seen from table 8, which gives the incidence of each expressed as a percentage of the total number of *šudūd* pieces in the collection.<sup>147</sup> There are no further changes of significance, and *ḥusaynī*, *rāst* and *irāq* continue to dominate, accounting for 55% of *šudūd* appearances in Ox and 46% in S, as compared with 47% in NO. The proportion of the repertoire as a whole represented by pieces in the *šudūd* modes is, at almost exactly one-third, virtually identical in Ox and S.

<sup>146</sup> G contains, further, ten pieces in the at least closely related and possibly synonymous *dugāh-i aṣl*.

<sup>147</sup> Here, as generally elsewhere, comparative figures for Ox do not take account of the *naḥṣ*, *pešraw* and *dā'ira* forms unique to it.

	NO	Ox	S
<i>husaynī</i>	17.5	18	18
<i>rāst</i>	17	21	14
<i>'irāq</i>	12.5	16	14
<i>isfahān</i>	8.5	7	6.5
<i>kučak</i>	7.5	3	5
<i>hijāz</i>	7.5	5	5
<i>buzurg</i>	7	6.5	6.5
<i>zangūla</i>	7	4	1.5
<i>būsālīk</i>	6.5	6.5	10.5
<i>'uššāq</i>	6	4	6.5
<i>nawā</i>	2	5	7.5
<i>rahāwī</i>	0.5	4	5

Table 8

(If the contents of NO represented the same proportion, the total would be well in excess of that of Ox. Hardly surprising, then, that there should be a dozen pieces in NO promised but not eventually delivered: had they all been still in existence, and located, we would have a total for the *šudūd* of 273, more than three times as many as in S, and by extrapolation a repertoire of no fewer than 800 pieces.)

With the *āwāz* modes, on the other hand, representation is, for no discernible reason, markedly unequal: they account for 15.5% of the total in S, but for only 9% of the total in Ox. The number of pieces in each is shown in the following table, which also records the corresponding figures for G:

	G	Ox	S
<i>gardāniya</i>	0	12	10
<i>gawāšt</i>	0	3	3
<i>māya</i>	2	1	1
<i>nawrūz</i>	6	12	7 <sup>148</sup>
<i>šahnāz</i>	4	8	6
<i>salmaḳ</i>	12	12	9

Table 9

<sup>148</sup> Four have the heading *nawrūz*, three the at least closely related and possibly synonymous *nawrūz-i ašl*.

The figures for G are not, however, strictly comparable: given the state of the manuscript we cannot even be sure that all the *salmak* pieces known to the compiler have survived, and can therefore say nothing about the relative frequency of these modes in relation either to each other or to the *šudūd* in NO; nor, obviously, can any conclusions of a diachronic nature be drawn. If anything, the totals for Ox and S would suggest that three of the four included in G (the probable exception being *māya*) are unlikely to be represented by a complete set of pieces, for even if we take the proportionately lower level of incidence in Ox, where there is 1 *āwāz* piece for every 3.6 *šudūd* pieces, the same relationship would predict in G a total for all the *āwāzes* of no fewer than 76, implying therefore an average of just over twice as many examples for each individual *āwāz*.

As far as the mid sixteenth century is concerned, the figures in Ox and S indicate that the *āwāzes* occurred less frequently than their *šudūd* counterparts. The average incidence for each is 6 in S, as against 7.4 for the *šudūd*, and 8 in Ox, as against 14.4. However, while none of the *āwāzes* can approach *ḥusaynī*, *rāst* and *‘irāq* in importance, four of the six are comparable to the middle ranking *šudūd*. The exceptions are *gawāšt* and *māya*, the latter, in particular, represented as a separate entity just once in each collection, appearing on the brink of extinction. But appearances might be deceptive, for one may also point to two cases in Ox and one in S in which it occurs as part of a compound heading, and speculate that its continuing existence may have been rendered a little less precarious by its occasional appearances in such two-mode combinations.

Ignoring the notion of the *šudūd* and *āwāzes* as sets, which as far as practice is concerned only exists residually in the context of internal modulation sequences, the general importance of the modes belonging to them in the mid sixteenth century may best be gauged by a simple comparison with the incidence of occurrence of other modes. Thus of the 16 most commonly used modes in Ox (all those appearing 12 or more times) four are *šudūd* and three *āwāzes*, while modes belonging to neither group occupy six of the top ten places. The figures for S are similar: of the 15 most commonly used modes (all those appearing six or more times) five are *šudūd* and three *āwāzes*, while modes belonging to neither group occupy four (including the first two) of the top ten places. The most heavily used part of the modal repertoire is thus fairly evenly divided between modes from these two sets and the others, while among the less frequent modes the remaining *šudūd* and *āwāzes* are, inevitably, heavily outnumbered, for the total recorded, including two-mode combinations, is over 60. Except to point out that *dugāh*, while still one of the most commonly used modes, no longer enjoys the supremacy it had in G, the incomplete nature of the data derivable from this collection again makes it impossible for conclusions to be drawn about historical change during the period covered by the antecedent tradition.

## 2.5.6. Rhythm

As might be predicted from the high degree of congruence between Ox and S with regard to the identity and relative frequency of the commoner modes, very similar profiles appear for the most used rhythmic cycles. Indeed, the figures for the six most common ones, *'amal*, *awsaṣ*, *čār ɖarb*, *ḥafif*, *se ɖarb* and *taqīl*, approximate rather more closely than do those of the six most common modes to the 2 : 1 ratio the total size of the respective collections would predict. In both, one may also note a very steep drop in frequency of occurrence after the first six, which in fact account between them for three-quarters of the total in S, and almost nine-tenths of the total in Ox. The proportion in S may be the more realistic, for since Ox is organized primarily according to rhythmic cycle groupings some of the rarer ones could have been disregarded as unworthy of more than a token appearance in a miscellaneous section, and hence might not have been given appropriate representation: of those included, *ɖarb al-faḥ* and *muḥajjal* have to share a section, while several others are lumped together in a catch-all section headed *ramal wa-ḡayruh*. There is also, it may be noted, significant variation within the first six, with *se ɖarb*, easily the most frequent, being more than twice as common as *čār ɖarb*. Beyond this core there is considerable, if by no means total, agreement between the two collections, most names occurring in both, but each exhibiting a few rare ones not found in the other. Some of the less common cycles seem to have been restricted to fleeting appearances in the rhythmic equivalent of the modulation sequence, that is, the replacement of the principal cycle by a number of others, introduced successively.

Comparison with NO/G is again unfortunately difficult, but for a different reason. Whereas the modal range of NO is deliberately restricted, there is no reason to suspect that the same might be true of the rhythmic cycles, but except for *čār ɖarb* and *'amal*, which function as category designations, but may still be supposed to imply normally the use of the cycle of the same name,<sup>149</sup> these are not generally identified in the headings, so that it is only rarely or incidentally - usually when specifying the ones introduced in substitution sequences - that rhythmic cycles are mentioned at all. There is, inevitably, no possibility of producing a frequency table. The total number of rhythmic cycles mentioned in NO/G is 18, but that others were also in use at the time is made clear by a heading on NO: 6b which announces a piece containing the successive introduction of no less than 25 cycles: the piece failed, it is true, to materialize, but the compiler must have accepted that such a promise could in

<sup>149</sup> For four *'amals* another cycle is specified: in two cases *farruḥ* (18a, the second vocalized as *faraḥ*), in one *muḥammas* (18b), and in the fourth *nisf-i muḥammas* (124a). These may be presumed to be exceptions, but their presence does demonstrate that the *'amal* heading did not automatically imply the *'amal* cycle.

principle be fulfilled. The figure of 25, the minimum possible, may be compared with the total of 23 recorded in S, and 36 in Ox. Even if *ṭawīl* is equated with the *ramal-i ṭawīl* of Ox and S, no fewer than seven of the 18 named in NO are still absent from the later anthologies. But perhaps more striking is the fact that *se ḍarb*, by far the commonest cycle in these, fails to receive even a single mention in NO/G. However, because of the fragmentary and incidental nature of the information in NO/G, one can do little more than identify such obvious discrepancies: whether they point to a minor shift or a fundamental realignment in the system of rhythmic modes is, unfortunately, impossible to say.

#### 2.5.6.1. Rhythmic variation

An internal sequence of rhythmic cycle changes not associated with a comparable and preceding sequence of modal changes is normally indicated in NO/G by the phrase (*dar*) *uṣūl kardan*, which will occur either in the heading or be contained in the body of the setting, qualifying the *bāzgaṣṭ*, since it is to this section that the phenomenon may be restricted.<sup>150</sup> In all, the phrase is applied to only six pieces in NO,<sup>151</sup> although the phenomenon occurs in at least one other, 117b, where the various cycles are named.<sup>152</sup> The phrase *uṣūl kardan* also appears in Ox and S, but rarely, cycle sequences being generally unannounced. Reference has already been made to a group of pieces in Ox (Ouseley 127: 92a-94b) in which one or two changes of rhythm are introduced, usually in the *ḡazal* section; these apart, there are in all seven instances of such sequences,<sup>153</sup> while in S there are eight.<sup>154</sup> The incidence of this feature thus seems to have remained broadly constant: affecting a mere 2% of the repertoire it is evidently, from a purely numerical standpoint, peripheral; but given both that attention may be drawn to its presence in the heading and that the sequence is frequently compressed within one section of the piece and therefore probably involved fairly rapid changes, it could be argued that the technical expertise it presumably required was perceived to be of some importance.

Pieces with several such changes may spread them over more than one section. NO: 117b, which has five, includes three in the *bāzgaṣṭ* but postpones the final two until the *ḡazal*; in NO: 107a, which has seven (excluding shifts back in repeated material), there is a more even distribution: two changes

<sup>150</sup> As in e.g. NO: 18a.

<sup>151</sup> NO: 17a (two), 18a (two), 34a, and 107a.

<sup>152</sup> Another possible candidate is 18b, which contains three *o* punctuation symbols in the *bāzgaṣṭ*. However, these could also relate to changes of mode, although for this the form more frequently encountered is *o*.

<sup>153</sup> Excluding those cases (to be discussed in 2.5.6.3) in which rhythmic variation occurs in conjunction with modal variation. The seven are: Ouseley 127: 30b, 42a, 100b, 113b; 128: 5b, 10b, 20a.

<sup>154</sup> Fols. 54b, 55b, 77a, 107b, 118a, 134b, 136b, 139a.

within the *tarannum*, a further two coinciding with the beginning of the two following *sarband* sections, the second of which has a further internal change, and a further three within the *bāzgašt*; as for NO: 17a, which exhibits no less than fifteen changes, three occur in the *bāzgašt*, but the remainder are all in the extended *taqsim*. In Ox and S the *bāzgašt* is again the normal centre of operations, Ox Ouseley 127: 100b providing an example of eight changes in the one section and S: 54b one of nine, while of particular interest is a piece common to both<sup>155</sup> which is unique in exhibiting change mainly between pairs of rhythms: twelve cycles are mentioned in all, arranged in five pairs followed by two separate single cycles. The pairs may be construed as examples of *darbayn* (exemplified elsewhere in Ox), the juxtaposition of two pre-existing cycles to form a more extended compound cycle. The particular sequences mentioned in these various pieces will be considered in 4.7.1.1.

#### 2.5.6.2. Modal variation

An internal sequence of modal changes not associated with a comparable following sequence of rhythmic cycle changes is not marked in S (although it should not necessarily be concluded from this that it did not occur), while in NO and Ox it is referred to by the phrase *dar duwāzdah wa šaš* ('twelve and six'), indicating, therefore, that the piece should theoretically illustrate one after another all the remaining modes of the traditional *šudūd* and *āwāz* groups (in only one case is the main mode of the piece not already one of them).<sup>156</sup> Changes of mode not so organized occur, but are extremely rare,<sup>157</sup> and the 'twelve and six' sequence was clearly normative, demonstrating the symbolic importance still attached to these two sets at a time when, as the evidence marshalled in 2.5.5 shows, many of the modes they contain could lay no particular claims to precedence on grounds of frequency of use alone. As will be seen in 2.5.6.3, modulation into other modes is normally restricted to a more extended run that goes through the *šudūd* and *āwāzes* first, so that the fact that all but one of the 'twelve and six' pieces has one of them as its main mode might exemplify a convention that modulation sequences do not normally begin elsewhere. In any event, the observed importance of many modes outside the two sets was clearly insufficient to threaten the perpetuation of the particular hierarchy which, if only in this context, they still represented.

<sup>155</sup> Ox Ouseley 127: 30b, S: 118a.

<sup>156</sup> A *pšraw*, Ox Ouseley 128: 43a (the main mode being *dugāh*).

<sup>157</sup> The only examples appear to be NO: 96a, headed *dar zangūla wa ḥamsa*, i.e. with five changes of mode; Ox Ouseley 128: 97a, which includes three changes (all to members of the *šudūd* set); and 127: 14a, in *māhūr*, in the *bāzgašt* of which there is the following modulation sequence: (*māhūr*) → 'izzāl → nawā → sunbula → *dugāh* (?) → *ḥusaynī* → sunbula → *ḥusaynī* (?) → *ḥiṣār* → 'izzāl, remarkable for its internal repetitions.

The incidence of modal change is comparable to that of the parallel phenomenon of rhythmic change. The phrase *dar duwāzdah wa-šaš* is applied to ten pieces in NO, seven of which are *nawba* movements,<sup>158</sup> and eight in Ox, six of which are *pēšraws*.<sup>159</sup> One might therefore speculate that the technique was particularly associated in the fifteenth century with the *nawba*, the gradual disappearance of which resulted in a decrease in the importance attached to modulation sequences during the sixteenth century, with the result that they tended to survive principally in the context of pieces in which the absence of a verse text perhaps left more scope for the appreciation of purely technical aspects of the compositional process.

Only in certain cases is the modulation route apparent. In NO: 169b, for example, we are shown where the *modes* were introduced but, as the names are omitted, cannot reconstruct the order in which they entered: eleven intermediate punctuation symbols are distributed within the *taqsim* (the text taking up only the first three subsections, the rest being syllabic) and following *sarband*, these evidently for the *šudūd*, while a further six, for the *āwāzes*, are contained within the *bāzgašt*. Elsewhere, however, there may be omissions: NO: 121a has an extended *bāzgašt* with 12 internal divisions, each ending with the name of one of the *šudūd*, but the *āwāzes* nowhere appear, so that presumably 'twelve and six' could be understood not necessarily as a literally true description but as a generic label encompassing also pieces modulating only through the *šudūd*.

### 2.5.6.3. (*kullī*) *kulliyāt*

From the combination of modal and rhythmic cycle change result lengthy and complex pieces to which the above label (or a variant) is attached. Here, modal and rhythmic variation help determine the structure of the whole piece - indeed appear to constitute its essence - so that it would seem reasonable to consider the *kullī kulliyāt* a category apart, even though NO defines one of the two examples it contains as a *qawl*. But whatever the status of these pieces, it is clear that the combination of effects was used less widely than each singly - indeed was quite rare: the three collections between them furnish a total of no more than six examples.<sup>160</sup> In effect, the *kullī kulliyāt* may have had almost symbolic importance, representing a summit of technical skill but, as a result, existing on the margin rather than within the mainstream of normal compositional practice:

<sup>158</sup> Six are *qawls* (13a, 51b, 108a, 134a, 150a (in which the 'twelve and six' phrase is appended to *taqsim* 1) and 169b), and one a *firūdāšt* (5b: the setting is not provided), while the remaining three are *amals* (26a, 27a and 121a).

<sup>159</sup> Ox 128: 38b, 55a, 56b, 61a, 61b and 64b (*pēšraws*), 94a and 103a.

<sup>160</sup> NO: 6b (setting not provided), 134a; S: 3b (= Ox Ouseley 128: 81b), Ox Ouseley 127: 31a (headed *nisf-i kulliyāt*, i.e. only a half member of the species, presumably because the total number of changes is fewer than elsewhere), 128: 2b and 9a (headed *muvaššah kullī*).



it must, after all, have required an audience of great sophistication - consisting, one suspects, largely of fellow musicians - to identify all the transitions and appreciate the ingenuity of the workmanship.

The single example in S is the *kullī kulliyāt* with which it begins, and its position is surely not fortuitous: it is much the longest and most complex piece in the whole collection, proceeding successively first through 47 modes (the twelve *šudūd*, an *āwāz* group with an additional seventh member,<sup>161</sup> four *šu'bas* and 24 *tarkibs*) and then 17 rhythmic cycles. In addition to its sheer length, it is immediately striking because of the subject-matter of the two-line text, which escapes from the usual areas of the amatory or eulogistic into the austere philosophical and mystical.<sup>162</sup> The formal organization of the piece is not wholly clear. Immediately following the text come twelve unequal blocks of syllable material each headed by the name of one of the *šudūd*, the seventh and longest also having at its head the term *duḥūl*, possibly related to the insertion half way through of the beginning of H2, which may signal a repeat of the melodic material of the whole hemistich and a consequent reintroduction of the initial mode, *zangūla*. The second line of text, signalled in the Ox version as the *miyān*, begins the *āwāz* modulations, but all the *āwāzes* except the first, and all subsequent sections, have syllable material only, and there is no technical vocabulary to indicate section structure. Interesting is that two modes (*gardāniya* and *čārgāh*) share the same material (which is sufficiently long to preclude coincidental identity), but even more so that the final mode has the same material as the final rhythmic cycle, thus raising the possibility that the rhythm changes were not necessarily all in the initial mode, but could have previous modulations superimposed upon them.

The possibility is confirmed by NO: 134a. Here the main heading merely says *qawl* in *hijāz*, the description *dar kulliyāt* being affixed to the *taq-sīm-i awwal* section heading, even though mode changes are by no means confined to that section, and rhythm changes only occur much later. The overall structure is unusual in that only one hemistich of the single line of text is set before the *bāzgašt*. That only suffices for the first modulation in the *šudūd* set, and the remainder are again syllabic (the first *bāzgašt*, which houses the *āwāz* set,

<sup>161</sup> The addition being *hišdr*. But similarly in other *kulliyāt*, so that at this period the *āwāz* set effectively has two values, varying between six or seven according to context.

<sup>162</sup> The text in S is:

*haḡḡibi 'l-nafsa bi-'l-'ulūmi li-tarqā wa-tarā 'l-kulla fa-hya li-l-kullī baytū*

*innamā 'l-nafsu ka-'l-zujāḡati wa-'l-'aḡ lu sirājun wa-ḡikmatu 'l-lāhi zaytū*

(Educate the soul with the sciences so that it may ascend and see the cosmos of which it is a vessel./ The soul is but as the glass, while the intellect is the lamp, the wisdom of God the oil.)

To this the version in Ox (Ouseley 128: 81b) adds the further line:

*fa-iḡā aṣṡaḡat fa-innaka ḡayyun wa-iḡā aḡlamat fa-innaka maytū*

(If it shines you are alive, but if it is dark you are dead.)

is also syllabic).<sup>163</sup> In *taqsim 1*, particularly in the syllable area, the amount of material assigned to each mode varies considerably, so that in all likelihood the transition between modes did not relate directly to the structure of the rhythmic cycle: one did not, say, have one new mode every rhythmic cycle. But the most striking feature of this piece is the fact that, textually, the second half is the same as the first: the lay-out of H2 suggests melodic identity with the setting of H1, and the following syllable sections are a virtual replica of those in the first half, so that we must therefore consider it plausible that the melodic material of the first half, with all its changes of mode, is retained in the second, with merely a few minor excisions and extensions required by the changing patterns of the new rhythmic cycles, so that the second half presents combined modal and rhythmic shifts virtually throughout.

NO: 6b has the resplendent heading *kulliyāt ḥ'wāja duwāzdah maqām šaš āwāz bist u čār šu'ba bist u panj qarḥ saḥta ast maqām-i rast*, that is, a *kulliyāt* by Ḥ'wāja in the mode *rast*, modulating through the twelve *šudūd*, six *āwāzes*, and 24 other modes (*šu'bas*), and including 25 rhythmic cycles. It therefore proceeds in a rather less unorthodox fashion than S: 3b, given the still prevalent concern with cosmologically underpinned symmetrical number sets. There follow seven lines of verse, but of the setting of these no details are given: the compiler evidently knew of the piece but was unable to track it down.

Even more ambitious in its modal coverage is Ox Ouseley 128: 9a. This has the title *muwaššah kullī*, and contains, unlike all the other examples, no syllable material whatsoever, being a setting of an extended Arabic text consisting, again unusually, of devotional commonplaces. Its title (also exceptional in being couched in Arabic) further proclaims the ambition to include all the melodic modes (*jāmi' li-jamī' al-alḥān*), and proceeds to divide them into four sections (*qufl*), the first for the *šudūd*,<sup>164</sup> the second for the *āwāzes* (seven again, with *ḥiṣār*) and four *šu'bas*, the third for a batch of 17 *tarkibs*,<sup>165</sup> and the fourth for the remainder, 21 in all<sup>166</sup> (the 17 vs. 21 division seems arbitrary). A fifth section contains the 'well-known' (*mašhūr*) rhythmic cycles, of which there are 18.

<sup>163</sup> The first *sarband* contains the end of H1 plus a conventional word ending, and is repeated after the *bāzgašt*. What is not clear, however, is whether it is in 'irāq, the mode in which the end of H1 is set, or in *hijāz*, the main mode of the piece. That the latter is the more likely is suggested by the fact that the *sarband*, with the substitution of the end of H2 for the end of H1, also concludes the piece, and it would certainly be more natural for the it to end in the home mode.

<sup>164</sup> In which the cosmological theme is clear: they are arranged 'alā tartīb al-burūj' ('in the order of the signs of the Zodiac').

<sup>165</sup> The *qufl* heading has a general 'some' (*ba'ḍ min al-tarākīb al-musta'mala*).

<sup>166</sup> The *qufl* heading has 'the other' (*al-ba'ḍ al-āḥar min al-tarākīb al-musta'mala*).

## 2.5.7. Composers

It was pointed out in 1.3.2 that the majority of the composers common to all three antecedent collections are both ancient and well represented. The composers in question, and the number of pieces attributed to them (again counting each *nawba* movement separately) are as follows:

	NO	Ox	S
Şafi al-Din	28	70	23
'Alī Sittā'i	19	120	47
'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī <sup>167</sup>	15	32	10
Rizwān Šāh	3	14	15
Sultān Aḥmad Baḡdādī	4	3	3
Ğazanfar	4	110	37
Junayd Minqār	1	4	4
Şayḡ Şafā-i Samarqandī <sup>168</sup>	9	33	9

Table 10

We may consider first the top five, who are dateable, none being later than 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, who in all probability died rather more than a century before the composition of Ox and S. We are thus faced with the paradox that in the earlier NO 69 pieces (26% of the whole) are supplied by these composers, while in Ox and S, which relate to a later stage in the development of the tradition, are concerned to record rather the contemporary repertoire, and contain a wider range of modes, theoretically allowing for a heavier representation of later composers, the comparable figures are respectively 239 (46% of the whole) and 98 (42%), suggesting that while in its emphasis on ancient modes and forms NO is the more conservative document it is in fact Ox and S that preserve a considerably higher proportion of pieces representative of what was at the time perceived to be the most ancient part of the repertoire. To the basic question of why this reversal of the expected trend should have come about there is no obvious answer: we may merely observe that in the mid sixteenth century this small group of early 'classic' composers enjoyed even higher prestige (and productivity) than before, eclipsing all others, with the sole exception of Ğazanfar. That a supposedly ancient repertoire could be made up at least in part by the posthumous output of composers of particular fame is strongly suggested by the

<sup>167</sup> Excluded are all pieces attributed just to Ḥ'wāja, even though in at least some cases al-Marāḡī must be meant. If all the pieces attributed to Ḥ'wāja were included, the total would be very much greater.

<sup>168</sup> This last case is doubtful, the name in NO being simply Şafā.

enormous disparity between NO and the later collections in the number of pieces attributed to 'Alī Sitā'i. Even if only the *šudūd* settings in Ox are considered we find that at 40 the number is over twice as high as that in NO. On the assumption that we are not dealing with two geographically separate traditions, one of which preserves far more of an ancient legacy than the other, it appears unlikely that so many pieces should have passed NO by and, by the same token, likely that several and quite possibly indeed the majority of those ascribed not only to 'Alī Sitā'i but also to the other three composers most heavily represented in Ox and S are later additions, even if criteria for distinguishing the authentic (if any) from the remainder are not easy to find. There are no obviously later texts (although an exhaustive enquiry should certainly seek to date as many as possible),<sup>169</sup> and no innovations of form or text setting to suggest a later period. In any case, one would expect, in the course of oral transmission, that any such innovations would also gradually work their way through the whole repertoire, effacing earlier norms.

The most likely index is to be sought, therefore, not in form but in the distribution of the modes. Accepting that a piece originally in one mode could, if slightly altered, eventually be assigned to another, it would still be a sound indication if several pieces attributed to a thirteenth-century composer employed modes not attested in the theoretical literature until at least the fifteenth century. This aspect may be investigated on the basis of the significantly larger corpus contained in Ox. Of the 192 pieces attributed to the two thirteenth-century composers, Šafī al-Dīn and 'Alī Sitā'i, we may note that the breakdown according to the three categories of *šudūd*, *āwāzes*, and other modes is 66 (34%), 21 (11%) and 105 (55%) respectively. The comparable figures for the collection as a whole are 33%, 9% and 58%, so that the broad distribution of modal groups is virtually unchanged, and certainly reveals nothing interpretable as an archaic feature. The number of modes (including compounds) not belonging to the *šudūd* and *āwāz* groups is 21 for Šafī al-Dīn and 28 for 'Alī Sitā'i, but of these only five for Šafī al-Dīn and 12 for 'Alī Sitā'i are not attested by the time of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī at the latest, and the total number of pieces that could be considered suspect on these grounds is no more than 27, a relatively small proportion. That the corpus as a whole is, in fact, relatively impervious to probing by such means may be demonstrated by examining the modal range of the *naḥš* pieces. These constitute the one group that, if we accept the premise of historically separable layers, might possibly be relatively late and present, therefore, a distribution more characteristic of the mid sixteenth century and by implication potentially different to that for the early composers. Immediate encouragement is provided by the observation that only one of the *āwāzes* makes an appearance, occurring twice (as against an expected nine occurrences for the

<sup>169</sup> That some of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's pieces in the modern Turkish repertoire have texts by later poets is pointed out by Bardakçı (1986: 128).

group as a whole, if consistent with the remainder of the collection), but hopes of a markedly different profile are dashed by the simple fact that the *šudūd* and *āwāz* modes together account for exactly a half of the *naḥṣ* pieces - a higher proportion than elsewhere, and one that, considered in isolation, would provoke the conclusion that they might represent not the most recent but the most ancient level of the repertoire.

Problems relating both to the extent of the data and their interpretation unfortunately preclude the effective use of the rhythmic cycle definitions for a complementary assay of authenticity. They still have their occasional uses, however, for we may confidently dismiss as spurious the ascription of a further seven pieces to Šafi al-Dīn and 'Alī Sitā'i that are in *ḍarb al-faṭḥ*, a cycle known to have been created by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi. But the general situation remains unchanged: the distribution of modes and rhythmic cycles hardly varies between earlier and later composers and the formal structures (apart from the innovation of the *naḥṣ*) and techniques of verse setting in these collections display a uniformity readily attributable to the levelling effects of oral transmission. If we accept that change rather than stability (or, perhaps, periods of change alternating with periods of stability) is the norm in such traditions, it may be assumed that whatever authentic ancient pieces still exist will have been gradually transformed, in conformity with developing tastes and techniques, so as to become as typical of mid-sixteenth-century style as any recently composed: what remains of Šafi al-Dīn and 'Alī Sitā'i, nearly three hundred years later, is less a repertoire than a reputation, even if one of sufficient magnetism to continue to attract to it further compositions. It could of course be argued that even if the *nawba* was still, however enfeebled, a part of the contemporary system for NO, so that it is only to be expected that it would be recorded there, its effective disappearance from the scene by the mid sixteenth century could mean that for Ox to describe a number of pieces as *nawba* movements demonstrates a degree of historical consciousness and, moreover, one that appropriately connects the *nawba* to ancient composers. While not denying the correctness of the association, however, it is just as reasonable to interpret the references to the *nawba* not as an antiquarian interest but simply and straightforwardly as a record of the last surviving fragments of a now obsolete form.

If, as is suggested here, historical depth exists less in the music itself than in the identity of its presumed original creators (and even these should more properly be regarded as mythical), it follows that the technical vocabulary with which pieces are classified will hardly assist in any attempt to date composers for whom biographical material is scanty or unavailable, including the last three in table 10. One of these, Gaẓanfar, is the next most prolific composer in Ox after 'Alī Sitā'i, and the profile of modes produced by his pieces is virtually identical with that for 'Alī Sitā'i, so that it is only on the basis of the enormous disparity between the mere four pieces by him in NO and the 110 in Ox that one might

hazard a guess (and it would be no more than that) that he was only beginning to establish his reputation at the time NO was compiled, and was active therefore during the second half of the fifteenth century. What little external evidence we have can hardly be said to confirm this estimate, but is at least consonant with a mid to late fifteenth-century *floruit*.<sup>170</sup>

Common to Ox and S is one further composer evidently considered to be of major stature. In the former, which contains 32 of his pieces, he is normally called Mawlānā Šams, and in the latter Šams-i Rūmī, having 15 pieces to his credit in addition to the initial *kullī kulliyāt*.<sup>171</sup> As there is no mention of him in NO he may be presumed to be a sixteenth-century figure, possibly even one still active at the time Ox and S were being compiled.<sup>172</sup> A further nine lesser figures are also found in both, undateable but probably contemporary or near-contemporary.<sup>173</sup> However, as they still only constitute a fairly small minority they do not allow us to arrive at a more precise definition of the spatial and temporal relationship between the two.

Not only do the musicians who figure in the antecedent collections hail, as has been seen, from geographically widely distant areas, they also, to judge by the few names that might give some hint as to status, seem to have been drawn from various walks of life. With little else to go on it would be foolhardy to attempt even the most approximate sketch of social context, but when the list of

<sup>170</sup> That he must be later than 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī is suggested by the absence of any reference to him in earlier historical and biographical sources or, indeed, in those of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī himself. More positively (I am indebted to Dr. E. Neubauer for this information), one of the pieces attributed to Gaẓanfar (S: 101b) is a setting of verse in praise of a certain Šāh Muẓaffar, tentatively to be identified with Jihān Šāh Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. Yūsuf (d. 1467).

But later biographical sources also fail to report him. The one mention of his name occurs in the so-called *muqaddima-i usūl* (Istanbul University MS Fy 1097, p. 162) by a certain 'Alīšāh b. Būka Awbahī, where he is called *ustād al-mula' al-ḥīrīn sultān gaẓanfar 'alayh al-raḥma*. The MS is undated, but bears a dedication to: *mu'in-i dawlat u dīn bū 'l-ḥasan 'alī šīr(-ast)*. There is an 'Alīšāh referred to as a great authority on music in the *makārim al-aḥlāq* of Ḥ'āndmīr (ed. T. Gandjei, fol. 175b), but that the dedicatee is 'Alī Šīr Nawā'i is nevertheless most unlikely: he is nowhere else referred to as Abū 'l-Ḥasan, and just as difficult to explain away is the fact that his title begins not with Mu'in but Nīẓām (which would also fit the metre of the verse). But even if the identification of the patron as Nawā'i is rejected, the reference to a musicologist 'Alīšāh in a work dealing with him would still suggest a link between Gaẓanfar and Herat (as would the name Awbahī - Awbah being a small town in the vicinity), and thus reinforce the possibility of the antecedent tradition containing significant Timurid elements. It would also be reasonable to date the *muqaddima-i usūl* to the last quarter of the sixteenth century, a period certainly appropriate to its contents, and the death of Gaẓanfar might in consequence be put towards the end of the century.

<sup>171</sup> Counting in also one piece in each attributed to plain Šams. It should, however, be noted that in Ox the *kullī kulliyāt* piece is attributed to Šafī al-Dīn.

<sup>172</sup> Although hardly conclusive as evidence, it may be noted that in S he never has applied to him the adjective *marḥūm* with which the names of the illustrious dead are sometimes qualified. If, as is conceivable, he is to be identified with Mawlānā Ḥ'wāja Rūmī (see 1.3.1), the date would be confirmed, and his productivity (and reputation) enhanced. Dānīpaẓūh (1977: 19) suggests two possible candidates, Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Siwāsī and Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad Afandī, both dateable to the first half of the sixteenth century. However, the mere fact that two names are suggested means that for neither can a convincing case be put.

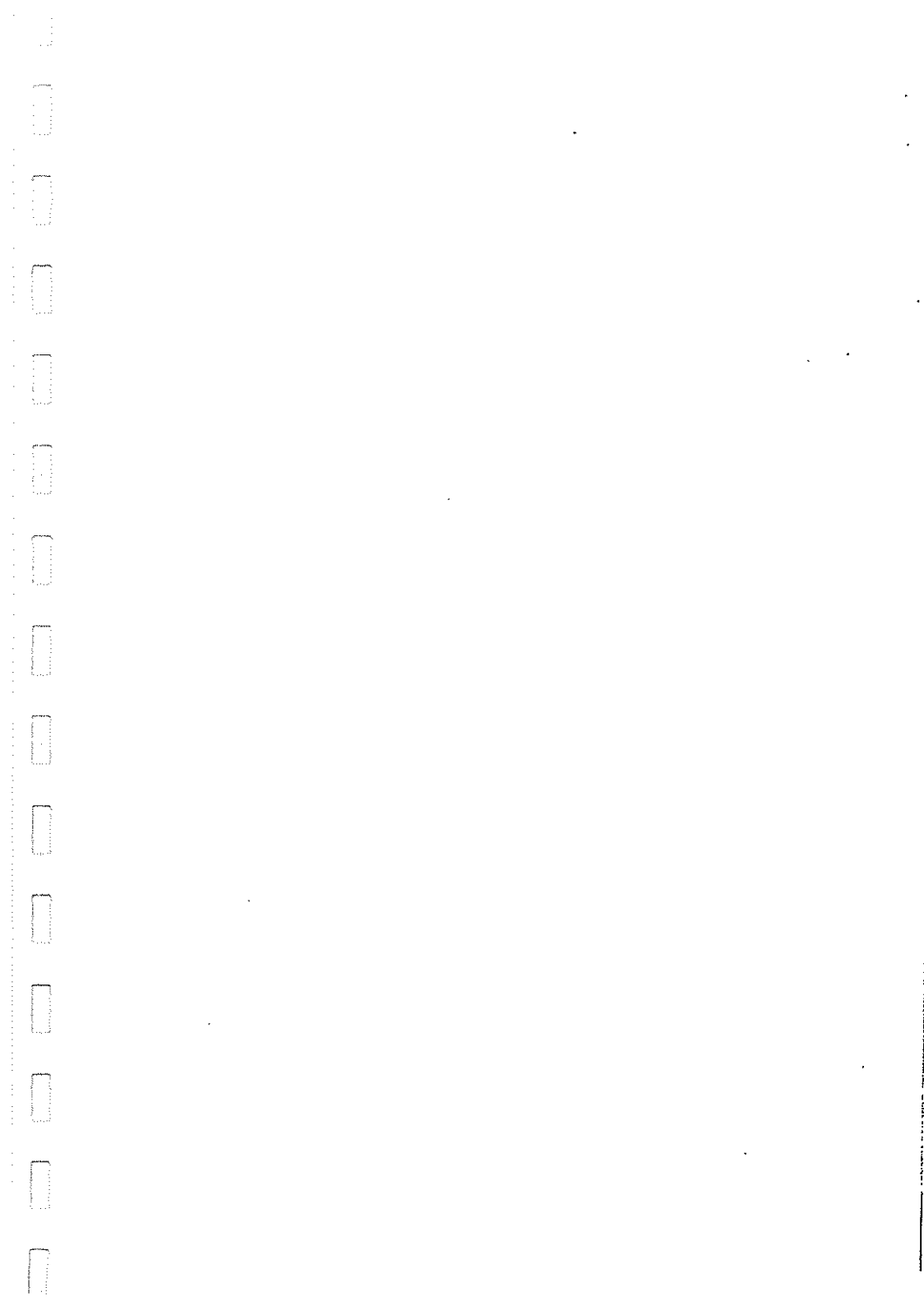
<sup>173</sup> The exception is the mid-fifteenth-century 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Qādir (al-Marāḡī) - assuming that this is the person meant by the bald 'Abd al-'Azīz in Ox.

composers includes aristocrats and courtiers as well as specialist musicians it does seem clear that what, to judge by the high proportion of panegyric verse, must still have been to a considerable extent a court-music tradition, was not restricted exclusively to professionals.<sup>174</sup> There are also one or two composers whose names suggest humbler origins, but whether this means that access to professional status was fairly open, or that we should be talking not specifically of a court-music but rather of a more broadly based urban art-music tradition is by no means clear.

But professional musicians inevitably dominate the scene, and in addition to the great ancient composers to whom so much of the repertoire is attributed we find some who are defined as instrumentalists. Although numbers are insufficient for any firm conclusions to be drawn, we may nevertheless note that the instruments most frequently mentioned are the harp (*čang*) and short-necked lute (*ūd*). The others, represented by just one exponent each, are the shawm (played by the thirteenth-century Ḥasan-i Zāmir: mention of an instrument here is therefore not to be taken as an indication that it was prominent in the mid sixteenth century), rim-blown flute (*nāy*), frame-drum (*daff*) and, perhaps most interesting of all from an organological perspective, the rarely mentioned *mugni*, an arch-lute invented by Šafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>174</sup> The tradition of the princely amateur virtuoso is an ancient one, going back at least to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī in the ninth century. For the Ottoman period one might wish to cite Sultan Selīm III as its most illustrious representative, were it not for the fact that in the later Ottoman tradition the amateur/professional distinction is at best unhelpful and may be positively misleading.

<sup>175</sup> See EI<sup>1</sup> suppl. s.v. Šafī al-Dīn. The instrument is described in the *kanz al-tuḥaf*, British Library MS Or. 2361, fols. 264b-265a.





### 3. HP: the beginning of the Ottoman tradition

#### 3.1. Introduction

Although the collections discussed above illustrate many of the features later encountered in Ottoman song-text anthologies, it is not until the appearance of HP, a little over a century after S and Ox, that the standard Ottoman form finally emerges, for despite the similarities, both the pattern of presentation in HP and the nature of its contents, which will be perpetuated in countless *güfte mecmuaları* made during the following two centuries, differ quite significantly from those encountered in the antecedent collections. All we can safely say of HP, however, is that it is the earliest extant example of a particular method of recording and codifying the vocal repertoire. A similar technique of presentation, in particular the grouping of pieces according to a fairly restricted number of modes - arranged in an order different to that of HP, but one equally independent of the old *şudūd/āwāz* hierarchies - is found in the nearly contemporary collection of notations by 'Alī Ufki. As there is no evidence of influence or contact between the two<sup>1</sup> the conceptualization may have been well established by the mid seventeenth century, and its origins may even be traced back to the late sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Whether or not Hâfız Post should be regarded as an innovator in the way he structured his collection, his chief claim to fame is as a composer, and HP contains no fewer than 127 songs the composer of which is identified as Hâfız, Hâkîr Hâfız or just Hâkîr.<sup>3</sup> Although not enjoying quite the same high reputation as his pupil 'İtrî, he is still considered one of the more eminent seventeenth-century composers. However, quite apart from the problems for any

<sup>1</sup> 'Alī Ufki's collection quickly became unavailable (and would in any case have been largely incomprehensible to Hâfız Post). As shown by Behar (1990: 19-21), it was in the possession of John Covell already in 1675, and no doubt left Ottoman territory with him shortly after.

<sup>2</sup> Seroussi (1990a) cites a hymnal by İsrâ'îl Najara, dated 1587, which uses ten mode headings unrelated, as a set, to the earlier *şudūd*.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible, but by no means certain, that the Fakîr to whom a further six pieces are attributed is also to be identified with Hâfız Post. According to Es'ad Efendi (*atrab al-âşâr*, fol. 11) Hâfız Post composed approximately 1000 songs.

current assessment of artistic worth raised by the possibly wide differences between twentieth- and seventeenth-century versions of the same piece, the actual number attributed to him in the modern repertoire is no more than ten.<sup>4</sup> Hardly surprising, then, that modern accounts should concern themselves as much with the unclear origin of the name Post as with evaluating his achievement as a composer.<sup>5</sup> Of his life what little is known is derived from the account of Es'ad Efendi, written 30-35 years after his death.<sup>6</sup>

In the following brief and selective discussion the approach will be partly diachronic, drawing for comparative purposes on the previous survey of the antecedent tradition. But reference will also be made to contemporary works: the collection of 'Alî Ufî, which contains notations of a large number of vocal as well as instrumental pieces; and the theoretical writings and notations of instrumental pieces by Demetrius Cantemir/Kantemiroğlu from the very end of the century.

### 3.2.1. Format

Measuring 205x145 mm., HP contains 176 folios, some worm-damaged. Since the format is, as in NO and Ox, sectional, rather than continuous as in S, there are also a number of pages left blank. Hâfiz Post's own entries are in an elegant *nasta'liq*, fully pointed but with no vowelling. They are laid out in a fashion that will again become typical in later Ottoman practice: instead of the single column of horizontal writing characteristic of the antecedent collections, we have here two, three or, exceptionally, even four columns per page, made possible in this case by the almost minute size of the writing, and although the writing is sometimes horizontal, it is more frequently at an angle, each column being tilted in the same direction. Both horizontal and angled entries may occur on the same page, with the angle occasionally approaching 90 degrees when the remaining narrow strip of space at the bottom of the page beneath the vertical columns is pressed into service. Where the original entries do not fill a page they tend to be entered in the right-hand column, although space may be left there for a particular category of song accorded priority, and the middle or even left side of the page used instead. Later additions vary from the careful, following closely the format of the original, to the fairly sloppy, written at whatever angle seemed appropriate to the space available.

<sup>4</sup> Three of these may be identified with pieces in HP (Özuna 1: 243-4, nos. 6 (HP: 63b), 7 (69b), and 9 (27b): the modern form of 6 is published in Ezgi 2: 149-50). Relevant to an assessment of comparative status is the fact that whereas eighteenth-century *güfte mecmuaları* continue to be well stocked with pieces by 'İrî, Hâfiz Post's name is already a rarity even in those that can be dated to the first half of the century: his stock must have slumped quite dramatically soon after his death.

<sup>5</sup> *post* is a tanned skin, with fur, used as a rug. Hâfiz Post is said to have been so called either because he carried one such around with him habitually to sit on, or because of his extreme hairiness.

<sup>6</sup> For a useful summary of biographical (and bibliographical) data see Özuna 1: 243-4.

The basic organizational principle is the same as that of NO: pieces are entered into predesignated mode compartments. But unlike NO, HP provides an initial list of the mode compartments, thereby setting a model for later collections. (In these a facultative additional piece of prefatory material - not, however, given in HP - is a set of mnemonics for the structures of the rhythmic cycles presenting the characteristic sequences of dull (*düm*) and light (*tek*) beats, but with no indication of relative duration.) The list consists of a page with an ornamental heading below which is a grid of squares, five across and six down, each one of the thirty having at the top the word *faşıl(-ı)* - here meaning simply 'section' and having nothing to do with technical musical sense of *faşıl* as 'suite' - and then, beneath, the name of the *makām* with, at the bottom, added in another, less careful, hand, the relevant folio number.<sup>7</sup> Both the *faşıl* heading and the *makām* name are written in *nash*, with the exception of *nişābūr* and *nīrīz*, which are unaccountably in *nasta'liq*. The grid is as follows:

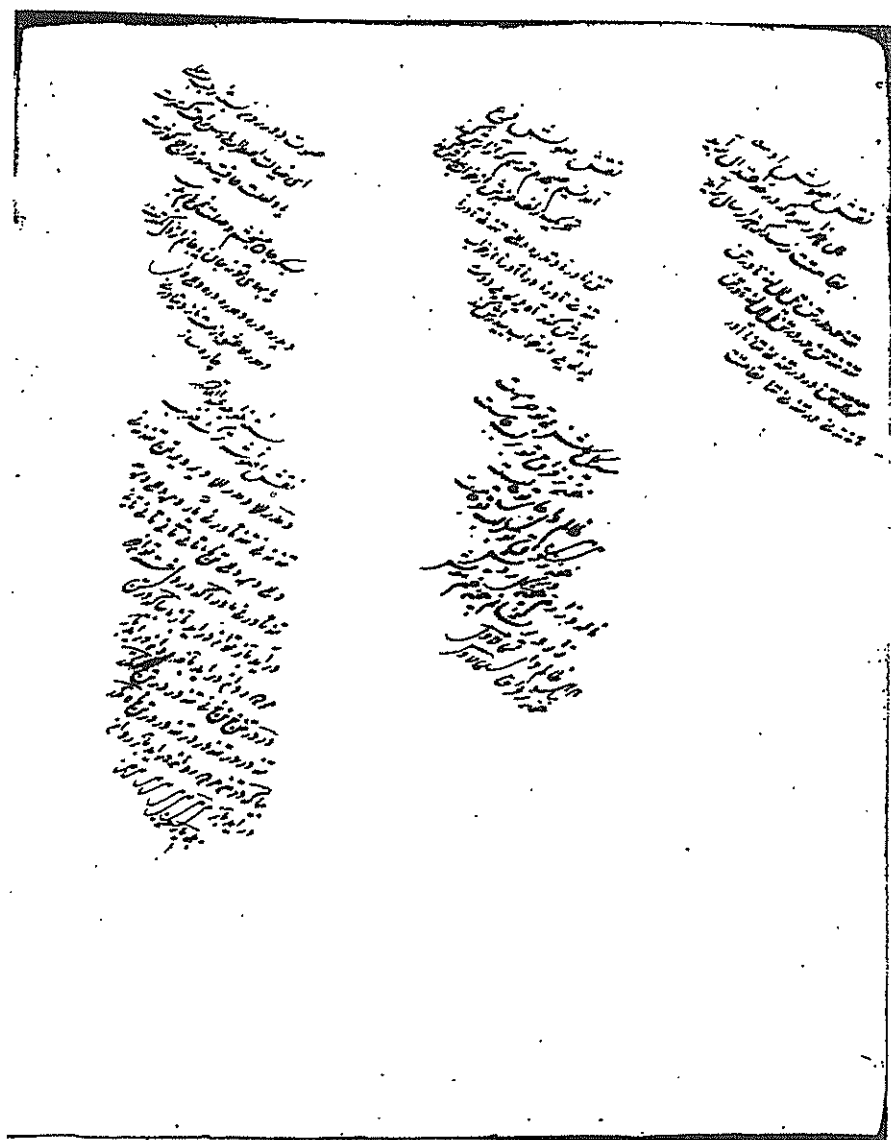
<i>rāst</i>	<i>pençgāh</i>	<i>nişābūr</i>	<i>nīrīz</i>	<i>māhūr</i>
<i>rehāvi</i>	<i>şabā</i>	<i>çārgāh</i>	<i>kūlseyī</i>	<i>muḥayyir</i>
<i>kūçek/sünbūle</i>	<i>nevā</i>	<i>'uṣṣāk</i>	<i>bayātī</i>	<i>nihāvent</i>
<i>'acem</i>	<i>'acem-'aṣīrān</i>	<i>kārdī</i>	<i>būselik</i>	<i>'aṣīrān</i>
<i>'irāk</i>	<i>evic</i>	<i>segāh</i>	<i>bestenigār</i>	<i>'uzzāl</i>
<i>şehnāz</i>	<i>hecāz</i>	<i>zīrgūle</i>	<i>ḥiṣār</i>	<i>'arāzbār</i>

The identity and order of the *makām* names in the list do not coincide fully with those in the collection itself (and although it would be fanciful to detect here a precedent, it is interesting to note that similar discrepancies may sometimes be encountered in later collections: the list could evidently be viewed not as an index or table of contents but as a statement of possibilities or intentions). The first ten entries are straightforward, but the eleventh square has two mode names, *kūçek* and *sünbūle*, only the former of which has a section assigned to it in the body of the collection (and all the entries for it are, moreover, in a later hand). The seventeenth square has in it the mode *'acem-'aṣīrān*, for which there is again no corresponding section, and the twenty-eighth *zīrgūle*, which does have a section, but no entries. From this, together with the fact that the folio numbers in the mode list are later additions, one would conclude that the list was produced first, but the picture is muddled somewhat by a further discrepancy: *'arāzbār*,<sup>8</sup> which occupies the fifteenth section in the collection, is placed last on the grid,

<sup>7</sup> The numbering used here is the later, pencilled-in one, in bold European numerals, which is one higher than the original.

<sup>8</sup> Written *'arāzbār*.



HP fol. 4b: examples of *nakis*.

سای سبت کیکلام گفته نیم  
اولی جاده داغ استا شیم  
اثری کشان استا سیم مراد  
هری بختر حق ترس مرید  
اولی طالع مرعیم مراد  
دکتر علی بی بی بی بی  
دکتر علی بی بی بی بی  
عیب صریح گفته نیم  
او نادره کوشا شیم  
سوزن لطیفه خاطر شایان  
کست او خاطر ایمنی بی بی  
سیم و کشتن صلی بی بی  
آه در دوش حق شیم  
آه در دوش حق شیم

سای سبت کیکلام گفته نیم  
اولی جاده داغ استا شیم  
اثری کشان استا سیم مراد  
هری بختر حق ترس مرید  
اولی طالع مرعیم مراد  
دکتر علی بی بی بی بی  
دکتر علی بی بی بی بی  
عیب صریح گفته نیم  
او نادره کوشا شیم  
سوزن لطیفه خاطر شایان  
کست او خاطر ایمنی بی بی  
سیم و کشتن صلی بی بی  
آه در دوش حق شیم  
آه در دوش حق شیم

سای سبت کیکلام گفته نیم  
اولی جاده داغ استا شیم  
اثری کشان استا سیم مراد  
هری بختر حق ترس مرید  
اولی طالع مرعیم مراد  
دکتر علی بی بی بی بی  
دکتر علی بی بی بی بی  
عیب صریح گفته نیم  
او نادره کوشا شیم  
سوزن لطیفه خاطر شایان  
کست او خاطر ایمنی بی بی  
سیم و کشتن صلی بی بی  
آه در دوش حق شیم  
آه در دوش حق شیم

احوالش با یاری خیر خفته است تا نماز  
 احوالش با یاری خیر خفته است تا نماز  
 جسکه که شیدا تیش نشود بر کین لایعین  
 جسکه که شیدا تیش نشود بر کین لایعین  
 که کای کل صانوب المودن دیوانه شکی  
 که کای کل صانوب المودن دیوانه شکی  
 شربانی زنجیر و حرکتش با زلاله  
 شربانی زنجیر و حرکتش با زلاله  
 نوزاد بر سر دایم خنودن چای کین  
 نوزاد بر سر دایم خنودن چای کین  
 احوالش در دیرینه فریاد عالم خفته است  
 احوالش در دیرینه فریاد عالم خفته است  
 قیس و نوادک کوه و دریا بیابان  
 قیس و نوادک کوه و دریا بیابان  
 و ادوی عشق که کل راه آسایش  
 و ادوی عشق که کل راه آسایش  
 اول طبع جان دل اول مرصع طالع  
 اول طبع جان دل اول مرصع طالع  
 خسته در دروغ ملک اکو در خانه میو  
 خسته در دروغ ملک اکو در خانه میو  
 احوالش فقیه زبانه زانده ریاضی  
 احوالش فقیه زبانه زانده ریاضی  
 لعل لعل با دود بر زور مست اور  
 لعل لعل با دود بر زور مست اور  
 بخار زده کیفه خمر مست اور  
 بخار زده کیفه خمر مست اور  
 صعبا یاقه خمر و دایم مطا  
 صعبا یاقه خمر و دایم مطا  
 باشد ترانه ای که مینویستند اور  
 باشد ترانه ای که مینویستند اور  
 مریخ و قیصر تیره حیرت خفته ایم  
 مریخ و قیصر تیره حیرت خفته ایم  
 هر تیره که در زمانه اول و آخر فام و نور  
 هر تیره که در زمانه اول و آخر فام و نور  
 بر لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 بر لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 منته ز اثر آینه یی بر کوه بیخ  
 منته ز اثر آینه یی بر کوه بیخ  
 از دردم اگر در ده دایم حکم  
 از دردم اگر در ده دایم حکم  
 احوالش  
 احوالش  
 روشن کرکشانه دل مکر دار  
 روشن کرکشانه دل مکر دار  
 او بر جادوات جبر خیزد  
 او بر جادوات جبر خیزد

احوالش با یاری خیر خفته است تا نماز  
 احوالش با یاری خیر خفته است تا نماز  
 بوداده بیل شرب و زلاله  
 بوداده بیل شرب و زلاله  
 چمنده غنچه او چاک کین ایمن  
 چمنده غنچه او چاک کین ایمن  
 بجز ساقی بچهره طور کاش زلف  
 بجز ساقی بچهره طور کاش زلف  
 می بگویند غم حکمت نه ایمیند  
 می بگویند غم حکمت نه ایمیند  
 احوالش زبانه خفته عشق  
 احوالش زبانه خفته عشق  
 غفلت در سر او تیره کین  
 غفلت در سر او تیره کین  
 آینه بر لعل و چشم کین  
 آینه بر لعل و چشم کین  
 خوف تیغ غنچه صندری و صند  
 خوف تیغ غنچه صندری و صند  
 اول طبع فتنه کین خنای کین  
 اول طبع فتنه کین خنای کین  
 احوالش زبانه خفته عشق  
 احوالش زبانه خفته عشق  
 او بکس سترای وصل جان اولدم  
 او بکس سترای وصل جان اولدم  
 بهم جان شیدا سر قدم جان اولدم  
 بهم جان شیدا سر قدم جان اولدم  
 نورش و وصل ای دایم کین  
 نورش و وصل ای دایم کین  
 او شب پر زده و شمع شیدا اولدم  
 او شب پر زده و شمع شیدا اولدم  
 احوالش در دروغ ملک اکو در خانه میو  
 احوالش در دروغ ملک اکو در خانه میو  
 اکو سپید یاقه خمر و دایم مطا  
 اکو سپید یاقه خمر و دایم مطا  
 نه دل خورده زبانه زانده ریاضی  
 نه دل خورده زبانه زانده ریاضی  
 صفتش و کوه که مرآت حق آه سر  
 صفتش و کوه که مرآت حق آه سر  
 او در لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 او در لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 بر لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 بر لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 منته ز اثر آینه یی بر کوه بیخ  
 منته ز اثر آینه یی بر کوه بیخ  
 از دردم اگر در ده دایم حکم  
 از دردم اگر در ده دایم حکم  
 احوالش  
 احوالش  
 روشن کرکشانه دل مکر دار  
 روشن کرکشانه دل مکر دار  
 او بر جادوات جبر خیزد  
 او بر جادوات جبر خیزد

احوالش با یاری خیر خفته است تا نماز  
 احوالش با یاری خیر خفته است تا نماز  
 بوداده بیل شرب و زلاله  
 بوداده بیل شرب و زلاله  
 چمنده غنچه او چاک کین ایمن  
 چمنده غنچه او چاک کین ایمن  
 بجز ساقی بچهره طور کاش زلف  
 بجز ساقی بچهره طور کاش زلف  
 می بگویند غم حکمت نه ایمیند  
 می بگویند غم حکمت نه ایمیند  
 احوالش زبانه خفته عشق  
 احوالش زبانه خفته عشق  
 غفلت در سر او تیره کین  
 غفلت در سر او تیره کین  
 آینه بر لعل و چشم کین  
 آینه بر لعل و چشم کین  
 خوف تیغ غنچه صندری و صند  
 خوف تیغ غنچه صندری و صند  
 اول طبع فتنه کین خنای کین  
 اول طبع فتنه کین خنای کین  
 احوالش زبانه خفته عشق  
 احوالش زبانه خفته عشق  
 او بکس سترای وصل جان اولدم  
 او بکس سترای وصل جان اولدم  
 بهم جان شیدا سر قدم جان اولدم  
 بهم جان شیدا سر قدم جان اولدم  
 نورش و وصل ای دایم کین  
 نورش و وصل ای دایم کین  
 او شب پر زده و شمع شیدا اولدم  
 او شب پر زده و شمع شیدا اولدم  
 احوالش در دروغ ملک اکو در خانه میو  
 احوالش در دروغ ملک اکو در خانه میو  
 اکو سپید یاقه خمر و دایم مطا  
 اکو سپید یاقه خمر و دایم مطا  
 نه دل خورده زبانه زانده ریاضی  
 نه دل خورده زبانه زانده ریاضی  
 صفتش و کوه که مرآت حق آه سر  
 صفتش و کوه که مرآت حق آه سر  
 او در لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 او در لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 بر لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 بر لعل و ادوی شعله داغ خمر کوه  
 منته ز اثر آینه یی بر کوه بیخ  
 منته ز اثر آینه یی بر کوه بیخ  
 از دردم اگر در ده دایم حکم  
 از دردم اگر در ده دایم حکم  
 احوالش  
 احوالش  
 روشن کرکشانه دل مکر دار  
 روشن کرکشانه دل مکر دار  
 او بر جادوات جبر خیزد  
 او بر جادوات جبر خیزد

as if inadvertently omitted from its proper position and simply tacked on at the end.<sup>9</sup> One further mode, *bābā šāhir*, appears only in the body of the text, on fol. 166, but at the head of a piece added in a later hand.

The mode compartments are themselves internally ordered, again as in NO, according to form or category of composition. There *nawbas* had pride of place, with *čār đarb* and *amal* pieces bringing up the rear; here the picture is somewhat more complex, even if the basic attitude seems the same, for of the three broad areas into which each mode compartment is subdivided, the first is reserved for what may be termed 'classics', pieces normally attributed to early composers such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāgi, and usually in the more elaborate *kār* or *naķis* forms. The second contains, for the most part, contemporary or near contemporary compositions, including many by Hāfiż Post himself. A few of these are labelled *şarkı*, but the remainder have no indication of form. The third is reserved for *semā'is* and usually has fewer entries than the preceding area, but more than the first. That the three are conceived as distinct is made clear by the intervening empty spaces that may be left as each one is gradually, but seldom completely, filled. For example, within the entries for the first mode, *rāst*, which are distributed over eight pages, the three groups are separated by blank pages (and there is a further blank page at the centre of the second). Such explicit categorization of material within mode compartments is not always found in later collections, but many do follow the model of HP in according pride of place within each mode block to the 'classics', or at least to pieces in the longer and more complex forms associated with them.

### 3.2.2. Material

As indicated above, the collection as we now have it is not, unfortunately, the result of the labours of a single author, for a number of different hands can be distinguished. Even though it is rarely difficult to determine what belongs to the original layer that was entered by Hāfiż Post himself, there is no means of identifying the authorship(s) of the remaining material, nor of knowing how long afterwards it may have been entered. Such later additions provide on average less information in their headings, and in many cases the composer is not named. However, the names that do occur include Hāfiż Post himself, his slightly younger contemporary 'İtrî, and figures such as Receb who appear prominently in the original layer. A perhaps even stronger indicator of an early date is a conspicuous absence of names known to be later, and there is thus a reasonable likelihood that much of the additional material is also part of the late seventeenth-century repertoire, and the collection as a whole may legitimately be

<sup>9</sup> With the original folio number 80 being misread as 180 by Özluna (1: 243) who, apparently not inspecting the contents, lists it as the last mode section and at the same time inadvertently accords the collection a few more folios than it actually has.



considered broadly representative of the repertoire of the second half of the century. However, for the sake of clarity and precision, in tables 11 and 12 below two sets of figures will be given, one for the original layer, the other for the remaining material, within which no attempt will be made to order data according to the different hands.

### 3.2.3. Headings

A relatively small number of pieces, the majority of which are later additions, have no heading at all. The only problems that stem from this concern, on the one hand, the suspicion that if a song text could be jotted down with such apparent lack of care, its position within the collection might also sometimes be the result of whim and, on the other, the fact that where two or three unmarked couplets in the same hand follow in succession it is not absolutely clear, if they are not linked by rhyme, whether they represent the texts of different songs or constitute one strophic setting. The latter has as a consequence a very minor degree of potential inaccuracy in the figures to be given below (probably less than 1%), while with regard to the former the suspicion has been discounted, and everything is presumed to be in its rightful mode section. In general, however, a heading of the type already encountered in the antecedent collections is provided and, as there, is couched in Persian. Given the format of the work, an indication of mode would, as in NO, be redundant. Otherwise, the information given may be more than hitherto, for the most extensive heading type indicates not only the form (F), rhythmic cycle (R), and composer (C), but also gives the title (T) of the piece and, further, identifies the poet (P) whose verse is set:

F T *uşûleş* R (*taşnîf-i*) C *güfte-i* P ('F T in the cycle R (composed by)  
C, words by P')

A reduced form of this is:

T *uşûleş* R (*taşnîf-i*) C

Titles are rare, however, being effectively restricted to pieces of one particular category, and the formulation with *taşnîf-i* 'composition of' is also normally associated specifically with this group. Much more typical, therefore, is the formulation:

F *uşûleş* R *beste-i* C *güfte-i* P

in which *beste* is synonymous with *taşnîf*, and does not, as it will later, denote a particular form. Reference to form is in fact omitted in over half the pieces in the collection, so that more frequently we encounter simply:

*uşûleş R beste-i C güfte-i P*

while in a number of the later additions the composer and, more usually, the poet may also not be identified. The remaining elements may then be reversed:

*beste-i C uşûleş R*

With *semâ'îs*, of which there are a large number, further specification of the rhythmic cycle would be redundant, and the heading is a curter

*semâ'î beste-i C güfte-i P*

The name of the poet is sometimes omitted and there are, further, a number of cases, especially among the later additions, where no further information is given after the initial identification of the piece as a *semâ'î*.

### 3.2.4. Formal categories

It seems reasonable to consider the term *semâ'î* in HP analogous to '*amal*' and *çâr qarb* in NO/G. All designate a common category of piece, but are at the same time the names of the rhythmic cycles with which those categories are normally or exclusively associated. As such *semâ'î* is, considered in relation to the antecedent tradition, where this term figures only as a (rather rare) rhythmic cycle, an innovation. Other new forms are *şarkı* and *kâr*, although, as has been pointed out, the latter is synonymous with '*amal*', and may therefore be regarded potentially as the continuation of an earlier form. The possibility of a relationship between the two is reinforced by the fact that *kârs* are always placed in the prestigious position of being the first pieces to be entered in a mode section, are normally attributed to a respected ancient composer (such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi), and have, like the '*amal*', a Persian text. So, too, does the *naķış* form, while the *semâ'îs* may be in Persian or Turkish, which is the language of by far the largest group of pieces, those not assigned to any particular form. (Arabic is so rare as to require special notice: a *semâ'î*, for example, with an Arabic text will be headed *semâ'î-i 'arabî*.)

Of the forms that figure in Ox and S it is only in the case of the *naķş/naķış*, found exclusively in the former, that we can point to substantial representation in HP, but with an unexpected substitution of Persian for Turkish and, consequently, no continuity in the repertoire. Although the terms '*amal*', *şawt/şavt*, and *qawl/ķavl* each make a token appearance, they can on the most favourable interpretation muster between them no more than seven examples, and in the case of *ķavl* and '*amal*' it could be argued that they are wholly devoid of formal implications. All three pieces headed by *ķavl* (40b, 61b, 83b) are

placed among examples of the *kār* category and exhibit similar formal characteristics, with alternating syllable and verse sections: it therefore seems reasonable to consider them unlabelled *kārs*, the word *ḳavl* being construed rather as combining with the following one to form the title of the piece.<sup>10</sup> Also juxtaposed with, and formally similar to, a *kār* is the one piece headed '*amal* (101b)<sup>11</sup> and here the term may be no more than a relic of the previous use of the Arabic synonym of *kār*. If *ḳavl* and '*amal* are disregarded, therefore, *ṣavl*, which occurs in the heading of three pieces, and *naḳış* remain as the only representatives of the range of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century form terms: all that survives of them, paradoxically, appears to be one that occurred in a single antecedent collection, and another that denoted a form of unusual structure which retained only the most tenuous of toe-holds on the earlier repertoire.

Of the *nawba* there is now no trace. At its last gasp in Ox and S, it must have ceased to exist shortly thereafter, and even of the reduced *qawl* + *ğazal* pairing not a single example is to be found. Nor is there any sign of the purely syllabic *pēšraw* of Ox: the structure may have survived unscathed, but the mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman *peşrev* is an exclusively instrumental form. Nevertheless, although the labels for formal categories in HP differ radically from those previously encountered, it does not necessarily follow that the same holds for the structures to which they relate, and the internal articulation of each will be considered in 3.3.

### 3.2.4.1. Contents

Between *kār*, *naḳış*, *şarkı* and a large unlabelled batch of pieces certain formal differences may be discerned. The *semâ'i*, however, seems more protean and, indeed, a few are described as both *semâ'i* and *kār*, *naḳış*, or *şarkı*. Marking these as potentially distinct categories,<sup>12</sup> the contents of HP are distributed according to the different forms as shown in table 11. It will be readily apparent that, despite the physically compact dimensions of the manuscript, the total size of the collection exceeds that of Ox by a considerable margin. Indeed, if the syllabic *pēšraws* of the latter, which have no counterpart in HP, are ignored, the original layer of HP has virtually the same number of pieces as Ox, while with the later additions it is almost half as large again.

Table 11 seems uninformative to the extent that the vast majority of pieces are not assigned to any specific formal category. But the appearance of

<sup>10</sup> In one case (3b) this is a phrase from the verse set, so that *ḳavl* is, fortuitously, part of a quote from the composition itself.

<sup>11</sup> That is apart from two (40b and 41a) where '*amal* again forms part of the title of the piece.

<sup>12</sup> But not so pieces termed *semâ'i-i müstezadd*. The distinction here is textual, the reference being to extra-long lines.

	original	later
no designation	351	189
<i>semā'ī</i>	173	84
<i>naķış</i>	43	25
<i>semā'ī</i> + <i>naķış</i>	-	2
<i>kār</i> <sup>13</sup>	26	5
<i>semā'ī</i> + <i>kār</i>	2	-
<i>şarkı</i>	24	6
<i>semā'ī</i> + <i>şarkı</i>	2	-
<i>şavt</i>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	623	312

Table 11

imprecision is deceptive, since apart from 16 pieces that, on grounds of internal structure, identity of composer, the language set and, not least, their position at the head of their mode section, can with some confidence be assigned to the *kār* form, and an even smaller number of unlabelled *semā'īs*, the unassigned pieces resemble each other; and with the exception of the *semā'īs*, from which they are clearly differentiated by position within the mode section, they do not resemble pieces in other forms. They are generally settings of a *rubā'ī* (that is, two lines of verse, the hemistiches of which exhibit the rhyme scheme *aaba*) and appear to be devoid of word or syllable elements, corresponding therefore to what 'Alī Ufķī calls *murabba'*.

### 3.2.4.2. Range

Comparison of the type and relative distribution of materials in the contemporary collections of HP and 'Alī Ufķī may be illustrated by reference to the *hülseynī* mode section, this being in each the one with the greatest number of entries. Ignoring the instrumental pieces in 'Alī Ufķī, we find the incidence of the various forms to be as displayed in table 12. Even if the majority of the unclassified pieces in HP are considered potential equivalents to the *murabba'* of 'Alī Ufķī, the disparities between the two repertoires are still surprising. They raise, indeed, a number of basic - even if largely unanswerable - questions about the range of music-making reflected in each, and equally the range of social contexts to which they might relate. If HP is typical of the Ottoman song-text anthology tradition, 'Alī Ufķī most decidedly is not, but the bald contrast does

<sup>13</sup> Including four headed *kār-i murabba'*.

	HP		'Ali Ufki	
	original	later		
unclassified	51	13	<i>türkü</i>	16
<i>semâ'i</i>	32	11	<i>murabba'</i>	10
<i>nakış</i>	7	7	<i>varsağı</i>	5
<i>şarkı</i>	3	2	<i>rakşîye</i>	4
<i>kür</i>	2	-	unclassified	4
<i>şavt</i>	1	-	<i>semâ'i</i>	3
			<i>ilâhî</i>	2

Table 12

not of itself help in any way to define their relative perspectives. One distinction between them is in this respect particularly striking: the inclusion of hymns, *ilâhîs*, by 'Ali Ufki (and other mode sections will add *tesbîhs*) points to a willingness to consider on the same footing as the other genres religious material of a popular devotional stamp habitually ignored by the *güfte mecmuaları*. Ottoman *ilâhîs* are sometimes recorded, it is true, but not normally in works of the same type as HP. 'Ali Ufki is also receptive, as HP and later similar song-text collections are not, to popular tradition as represented both by the *türkü* and *varsağı* forms and by dance songs, *rakşîye*. For such a marked difference in attitude one might be tempted to invoke as at least a partial explanation 'Ali Ufki's foreignness. Given that he spent some ten years as a court musician,<sup>14</sup> one can hardly consider incomplete acculturation as a reason for his failure to take account of conventional hierarchies, but it is at least clear that his purpose in compiling such a wide-ranging anthology of mixed vocal and instrumental pieces was radically different from that of Hâfiz Post, and one that could only have occurred to someone for whom the essentially foreign concept of notation was familiar. While HP provides an aide-mémoire for the performance of a particular vocal repertoire, 'Ali Ufki's collection contains in its final form a much broader cross-section of genres. (The internal lay-out of the materials suggests that the original conception was to record, in addition to instrumental *peşrevs* and *semâ'îs*, part of the same repertoire (consisting principally of the *murabba'*, *semâ'i* and *şarkı* genres) as that of HP: with the exception of some *varsağı*, the pieces in the other forms are for the most part either added, in a rougher form, at the end of sections, or are inserted into whatever corner affords enough space.) But apart from underlining the functional and symbolic distinction implicit in the exclusion from HP of overtly religious song, the Islamic dimensions of which are too obvious to require elaboration, the contrast

<sup>14</sup> According to Rolamb 1732: 703.

between the two collections in the distribution of forms, even if suggestive, is insufficient of itself to plot a social map of genres, and to invoke the glib contrast of art and folk music, however tempting, would be at best simplistic. Indeed, given 'Ali Ufki's insider's knowledge of musical training within the imperial palace, we might be tempted to conclude that his collection is fully representative of its repertoire. But that such is unlikely to be the case may be inferred not from the presence of popular genres - there is no reason to assume that the palace repertoire could not have been quite catholic, by no means stressing the more rarefied 'classical' end of the spectrum - but from the absence of the *kār*, of which 'Ali Ufki fails to record a single example. Confirmation of the broad range of court taste had been provided earlier in the century by Evliya Çelebi, who in 1636 attracted the attention of Murad IV by his performance not of one of the usual forms (among which the *kār* is mentioned) but of a *varsagi*.<sup>15</sup> The choice of genre was the performer's, suggesting, therefore, confidence that this type of song would be equally likely to gain a favourable response from the sultan. For evidence of the continuing importance of the complex *kār* form, with its Persian text and prominent syllable and word elements, it is, rather surprisingly, to HP that we must turn. But Hâfız Post may also have had connexions with court circles in his capacity as a chancery official, and it is certainly difficult to accept that the repertoire he records did not contain, at least in the *kār*, a high prestige element particularly appreciated by the élite. It would therefore seem rather more likely that not every genre encountered by 'Ali Ufki in the palace was recorded by him and that those he does notate do not necessarily account for all his material, the remainder therefore relating to other social backgrounds and contexts of performance. In any case, not too much should be made, at the technical level, of the contrasts between the various forms suggested by table 12. The differences between *semâ'i*, *murabba'* and *türkü* as recorded by 'Ali Ufki lie less in features of musical form or melodic style than in textual conventions, and the absence of the *nağış* from 'Ali Ufki's *hüseynî* repertoire does not mean that it is not represented elsewhere in his collection, even if it is, admittedly, rare.

### 3.3. Individual forms

It is evident from 3.2.3 that the formal nomenclature familiar from the antecedent tradition has largely been replaced. Accepting, from its extremely low incidence in HP, that the *şavî* is no less marginal than before, the only terminological continuity of any substance is provided by the *nağış/nağış* and, possibly, by the semantic equivalence of '*amal*' and *kār*. But from the large-scale disappearance of form labels and their replacement by others it does not necessarily

<sup>15</sup> Farmer 1936: 2-4. The term *varsagi* is glossed as 'mystic song'.

follow that a comparable revolution has taken place at the level of internal structure, and it is to this that we may now turn, the evidence of HP being supplemented by that of 'Ali Ufki and Cantemir, and the findings then being compared with those for the previous century.

### 3.3.1. The unassigned pieces

In the majority of cases, as mentioned before, the text consists of a *rubā'i* and is given without any indication of possible internal prolongations. Nor, generally, is any syllable or word material added afterwards, and no technical terms for internal divisions are attached: in short, evidence as to the nature of the setting is conspicuously absent. 'Ali Ufki's apparent equivalent, the *murabba'*, exhibits a musical structure mirroring that of the rhyme scheme, so that the formal abstraction A A B A corresponding to the four hemistiches is now pertinent, B relating to a *miyān*-like section for H3, the technical term for which, *tiz* 'high', refers to the register contrast that normally occurs here. As a typical instance we may give, with text of H2 and H3, that on 105b/205:<sup>16</sup>

$d \rightarrow j$   
 (H1) H2 (H4)  
 bül - bü - l-i şü - ri - de - ye fer - yâ -  
 d-i mes - tân et - ti - rir  
 H3  
 dül ha - vâ - 'ı ol - ma - da  
 as - dük - çe bā - d-i nev - ba - hār

Example 1

<sup>16</sup> The first reference is to the folio number of the MS, the second to the page number in Elgin 1976. Seventeenth-century pieces will be transcribed, as a result of editorial intervention, with modern mode signatures. This is merely a convention of presentation and is not meant to imply that seventeenth-century norms of intonation are always to be equated with modern ones. Indeed, it may be assumed that in certain respects they were likely to be different, so that the signs ♯ and ♮ may be thought to correlate to a rather lower pitch than now (to use modern Turkish habits of description, from one to two commas lower). The code  $j \rightarrow j$  shows the relationship between the original and the example as given here, which therefore divides 'Ali Ufki's note lengths by four.

The *makām* is *segāh*. The rhythmic cycle is not defined but, assuming that a quaver corresponds to one time unit, must be of 8, 16 or 32 time units, the total for each of the two sections.<sup>17</sup> The verse is displayed en bloc beneath the notation in such a way as to indicate clearly that H1, H2 and H4 were sung to the first section, H3 to the second, but without showing precisely how the text was mapped on to the melody, so that the version given represents merely one possible distribution. (The repeat of each section does not appear to be inherent to the form: in other examples no repeat is indicated.)

Such a setting indicates that at least for certain pieces the presentation in HP could be fully adequate, in that absence of any word or syllable material was in no way an omission. The only feature not marked is the repetition, reasonably frequent in 'Alī Ufki's *murabba*'s, of the last one, two or three words of the hemistich, sometimes with the interpolation of a word element, as in e.g. 114a/220, where the setting of the first hemistich ends *bilmediñ bilmediñ yār bilmediñ*, and the same repetitions (and the same melody) recur for H2 and H4. But whether or not some of the pieces recorded in HP had such (unmarked) textual echoes and word inserts, ex. 1 indicates that in many cases there may have been nothing beyond a straightforward setting of the text and, further, that the absence of any prolongation syllables is not, as it generally is in Ox and S, a matter of notational convention, but simply a realistic reflection of a more pared-down style: with 27 or 28 attacks and 22 pitch changes to 15 syllables in each section ex. 1 is not plainly syllabic,<sup>18</sup> but is nevertheless to be distinguished from the style of setting characterized by abundant melismas and/or repeated notes that the multiple prolongation syllables of the antecedent collections would indicate as prevalent earlier. Even if much less frequent, melismatic examples can, however, be found among 'Alī Ufki's *murabba*'s, although it is interesting to note that prolongation syllables are hardly ever indicated. In illustration we may cite 175b/310, the *miyān* of which, with 61 attacks and 46 pitch changes to a mere 17 syllables, is displayed in ex. 2.

Canemir's formal analysis is relatable to the compositional categories encountered in HP rather than to those in 'Alī Ufki. The vocal forms described include *kār*, *naķış*, *şarkı* and *semā'ī*, but of the *türkü* or *ilāhī* there is no trace; nor, as one might therefore expect, does the *murabba* make an appearance. But Canemir describes one further form mentioned in neither collection, the *beste*,

<sup>17</sup> More accurately, the total for the second section. The first (such discrepancies being by no means rare in 'Alī Ufki) has in the original 34 time units: the simplest emendation would be to halve the length of the final note, but that would destroy the parallelism with the cadence of the second section, and the implied eight time-unit internal division of each section has been maintained by reducing the fourth *d* from three time units to one.

<sup>18</sup> It may be assumed that 'Alī Ufki's slurs indicate where more than one note is sung to the same syllable, but even so the details of the setting cannot be established with precision, the number of notes and note-groups still exceeding the number of syllables.



ahi gir - - yā - - ni

dī - li - - des - - ti

yār el - in - - den - - ey

ey le - sem - - ā - - zād

(Here, and below, the rhythmic cycle is only identified by name by 'Alī Ufki: the sequence of percussions given ( $\text{d} = \text{düm}$ ,  $\text{p} = \text{tek}$ ,  $\text{d-p} = \text{teke}$ ) is taken from Cantemir.)

### Example 2

and of the two types distinguished one is defined in terms which match exactly the *murabba'* as exemplified by 'Alī Ufki and, consequently, many of the unassigned pieces in HP also: it is a setting of a *rubā'i* the formal structure of which, like the verse, is A A B A.<sup>19</sup>

The other type is characterized as being *bā terennümāt*, that is, with word and syllable material, in contrast to the former, which is without, *terennümātsiz*. In exemplification Cantemir gives the text of a piece consisting of a normal *rubā'i* followed by:

*cānum yelelelī vāy, 'ömrüm yelelelī vāy, belī belī derd vāy, belī  
yārüm eylemez*

<sup>19</sup> That it is a setting of a *rubā'i* is not stated but exemplified, and then confirmed by the following technical description which calls the setting of H1 *zemīn*, that of H1 and H2 combined *serḥāne* or *ḥāne-i ervel*, that of H3, which is stated to be melodically different, *miyān ḥāne*, and that of H4, confirmed to be melodically a reprise of the *zemīn*, *ḥāne-i dḥur*.

*eylemez* being the rhyme word of H1, H2, and H4.<sup>20</sup> The positioning of this material within the structure of the composition is not defined, the presentation being therefore exactly the same as that encountered in many of the *naḥṣ* in Ox although, as there, it may be assumed that the syllable material was not held back until the completion of H4 but was in some way distributed between the hemistiches, perhaps fragmented, but possibly occurring en bloc twice. Although not very common, such following material is certainly to be encountered in HP, and may be exemplified by a piece (87b) where the *rubāʿī* text is followed by:

*yār yār yel lel le lî dōst, yel lel le lî vāy yenter lā ter, yelet le lî  
ra'nā-yi man*

which differs from the above only in the lack of a final textual echo, and is similar to it in overall length, internal divisions, the particular syllable strings preferred and also, unfortunately, the complete lack of instructions as to the point or points of insertion, if any, of this material within the verse. But whatever the relationship between the two elements, it seems clear that the match between the unassigned pieces in HP and the *beste* as defined by Cantemir is complete, even though the term as used in HP seems to have only the general sense of 'composition'. It might then be thought, given the general terminological congruity between Cantemir and HP as opposed to 'Ali Ufki, that the equivalence suggested above of *beste* and *murabba'* should be queried, or that, possibly, the *murabba'* corresponded to only one type of *beste*, that without *terennümāt*. But although few in number, 'Ali Ufki's collection does contain *murabba'*s with word and syllable material, for example 133a/251, in which occurs the quite lengthy string *ter yelet lî yelet lî lā yelet lā yelet lî yenter yelet lālā zibā-yi man*,<sup>21</sup> and reference to e.g. Es'ad Efendi should serve to dispel any remaining doubts, for although he is writing about musicians represented in HP, his formal vocabulary includes not *beste* but *murabba'*,<sup>22</sup> and this term also appears in later song-text collections of the same type as HP.<sup>23</sup> Further evidence, even if not conclusive, is supplied by the original documents themselves: although the overlap between the contents of 'Ali Ufki and HP approaches zero,

<sup>20</sup> *edvār*: 97. For the syllable material here and below the original texts provide no indication of short vowel qualities. Those supplied have been arrived at on the basis of reference back to earlier patterns, sideways to the vowelings given for some strings by 'Ali Ufki, and forwards to the very similar modern sequences, resulting in retention of the binary opposition of (a >) e vs. i.

<sup>21</sup> This also appears in the *miyân* equivalent, where the setting is, however, quite different, running counter, therefore, to the supposition made earlier that identical syllable material in different sections may reasonably be held to imply melodic repetition also.

<sup>22</sup> Thus, writing about Ḥāfiẓ Post himself (*atrab al-āṣār*, fol. 11), he describes him as a composer of pieces in the *naḥṣ*, *ṣarḥ* and *murabba'* forms.

<sup>23</sup> e.g. British Library MS Or. 7059, which has headed sections for *kār* and *naḥṣ*, *murabba'*, and *semāʿī*, and within the *murabba'* section are to be found pieces that in HP are unassigned.

there are two pieces that may possibly be common to both,<sup>24</sup> for in HP we find two unassigned songs (16b, 32b) corresponding to what for 'Alî Ufîî are two *murabba*'s (162b/292, 93a/184):

(H1) H2 (H4)

tu - ti - l - sük - ker me nî - ol

la' - l-i zî - bâ söy - le - dir

H3

söy - le - mez - dîm surr - i 'aş - kı

kâ - dir ol - surr - 'â - le - me

### Example 3

<sup>24</sup> Comparison of over 50 *murabba*'s in 'Alî Ufîî's collection with corresponding pieces in HP yielded only these two cases of the same verse being set (although as the comparison was carried out between pieces assigned to the same mode it is just possible, even if extremely unlikely, that there might be one or two others among pieces assigned to mode *x* in HP but to mode *y* in 'Alî Ufîî). Identity of text does not, however, guarantee that we are dealing with the same piece, and we may note that in the second the probability is reduced by the fact that the rhythmic cycle is *çenber* in HP, but *dîyek* for 'Alî Ufîî, although judgement is complicated by his not being entirely reliable in such matters.

(H1) H2 (H4)

yi - ne faş - l-i ba - hâr ol

di bu gün - den bā - de nüş

ey - - - le

H3

ye - ter et - tîñ ha - yâ - l-i hû - r-u kev - ger

gel ha - râ - bâ ta

Example 4

3.3.2. *kār*

Of the categories specified in HP, undoubtedly the longest and most complex is the *kār*. We may begin by considering the very first piece in HP, which is not assigned to any category but has its status as a *kār* confirmed by Cantemir, who uses it to exemplify one of the three types that he distinguishes. As presented by HP, we have a heading which gives the title, *nūr-i hūdā* ('light of God'), the rhythmic cycle, *fer*, and the composer, Hoca (H<sup>w</sup>āja) 'Abd al-Qādir. There is no label for the initial syllable section:

*tā dīm dīm dere dillā dīrnā tene ney tā tel lel lene tā dīr ney tā dīr dīr  
tenī tel lel leney tenī tā dīr dīr tā nā dere tel lel lene ney tā dīr ney*

nor for the first hemistich of verse:

*ey nūr-i hūdā der nazār az rū-yi tīl mārā*

which is followed immediately by a word sequence:

*hey hey ahā ahā hey yār belī yār-i man hey hey ā çī sāzam belī  
yār-i man*

Section labels are then given: *hāne-i dovvom*, followed by H2; *miyān hāne*, followed by H3 + the word element *cānım*, and, finally, *lāzime*. This is followed by a syllable section the ending of which is the same as before:

*dīr tā nā dere tel lel lene ney tā dīr ney*

then H4 and, lastly, a word sequence which almost repeats the previous one.

This looks largely familiar, as a two-line setting, and could readily be relabelled using the terminology of NO/G:

*mustahall + taqsim (H1) + sarband + awwal (H2) + miyān (H3) +  
bāzgašt + awwal (H4) + sarband.*

suggesting, therefore, the following abstraction (*hāne-i dovvom* being abbreviated to *dovvom*):

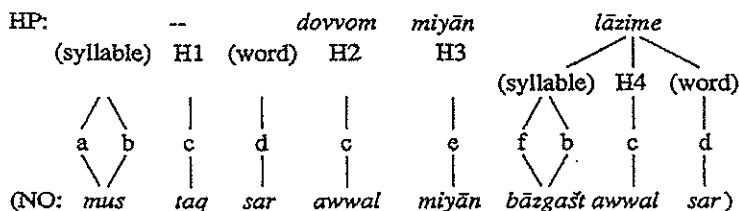


Figure 26

(As with the *beste*, Cantemir confirms that the setting of H4 is the same as that of H1.) There are, to be sure, certain differences in comparison with the normal range of contents of pieces in NO/G: one would not expect the *sarband* to be devoid of a syllable element, and the characteristic repeat of the last part of H1 and H2 is also absent; further, and more significant, the correspondence between the first syllable section of the *lāzime* and the earlier *bāzgašt* is not wholly convincing, since the *bāzgašt* would normally be considerably longer and would not

conclude with the same material as the *mustahall*.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that in general terms the structure so understood would seem to be indentifiable with that encountered in the forms of the antecedent tradition.

Cantemir adduces this particular piece to illustrate his first class of *kār* which, as he defines it, has a two- or three-line text, includes a *miyân hâne*, but is without a *zeyil* section.<sup>26</sup> Putting aside differences in the setting itself, which will be examined in 4.4, we may consider here aspects of form and note, first, that Cantemir regards this piece as falling into two main segments, one containing all the material preceding the *miyân*, and termed *hâne-i evvel* ('first *hâne*'), the other consisting of the remainder, and termed *miyân hâne*. The word sequence after H1 is followed by the phrase 'this is the first *terennümât*'<sup>27</sup> and the text of H2, labelled *hâne-i şânî* ('second *hâne*'),<sup>27</sup> by the phrase 'second *terennümât* again'. As there is no related material, we may take 'again' to have logical priority over the contradictory 'second' (perhaps a contamination from *hâne-i şânî*) and assume a repeat of the preceding word sequence. The first part of the unlabelled syllable section following the *miyân* is even closer than the first part of HP's equivalent *lâzime* to material at the beginning of the piece (thus weakening still further the putative correspondence between this section and the antecedent *bâzgaşt*), and H4 is followed by the instruction 'first *terennümât* again'. The structure and nomenclature thus differ from those in HP, as shown in fig. 27. There is thus a certain asymmetry with regard to the labelling of sections or section blocks, but the most significant difference is the specific indication, omitted by HP (presumably because it was self-evident) but included by Cantemir, of the repetition after H2 of the *terennümât* word section associated with H1.

In the other two types other distributions appear, and for the second Cantemir terms H1 and H2 (together with associated *terennümât*) the first *hâne*, H3 and H4 the second, and H5 and H6 the *miyân*. The example chosen in illustration is again a piece also found in HP, in the mode '*uṣṣâḳ* and the

<sup>25</sup> His initial statement (*edvâr*: 98) makes discriminations different to those of the body of the text: 'the *kār* is of three types: one consists of two lines, four hemistiches; one of three lines, six hemistiches; and one is without a *zeyil*, possessing only a *miyân*' (*kār üç nev' dir, bir türlüsi iki beyt dört müsrâf' [dan, biri üç beyt altı müsrâf' [dan, ve biri zeyilsiz olub ve yalnız miyân hâne şâhibi olur*).

The divisions that follow are, however:

- (1) two lines (+ *miyân* - *zeyil*)
- (2) three lines (+ *miyân*) - *zeyil*
- (3) three lines (+ *miyân*) + *zeyil*.

<sup>26</sup> Originally designating primarily syllable material, *tarannun/terennüm(ât)* now seems to have been broadened to encompass also sections made up wholly of word material.

<sup>27</sup> *şânî* being the Arabic equivalent of HP's Persian *dovvom*. It is, however, a later addition, and may be in another hand. But if not, the contradiction can be readily resolved by assuming that 'first *hâne*' and 'second *hâne*', relating to H1 and H2 respectively, are separate sections which in combination form the first of the two major segments, also termed 'first *hâne*'.

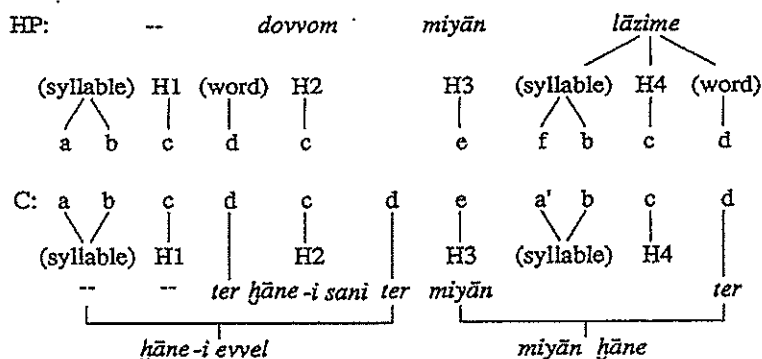


Figure 27

rhythmic cycle *ḥaffī*, by Koca 'Osmān.<sup>28</sup> As recorded in HP, this consists, as before, of an initial syllable section followed by the text of H1. But this time there is no word block separating H1 and H2, and the latter is followed by a further syllable section, within which internal repeats are indicated by the term *mülkerreri*; a repeat of H2; and a word sequence similar to, but briefer than, that transcribed above. HP agrees with Cantemir's broad structural divisions, inserting the section heading 'second *ḥāne*' before the text of H3, which is followed immediately by H4, after which comes the heading *miyān ḥāne*. The *miyān* comprises a brief syllable section, to be repeated, H5, to be repeated, and H6. Surprisingly, in the light of Cantemir's choice of this *kār* to illustrate the three-line type without a *zeyil*, HP continues with one, made up of a syllable section, to be repeated, a repeat of H6 and, finally, a repeat of the word material ending the first *ḥāne*. Although by no means firm evidence, it may be suggested from the presence of H6 in the concluding *zeyil*, followed by the word sequence first associated with H2, that the setting of H6 was more likely to be a repeat of that of H1 than either a repeat of that of H5 or something else conforming to the modal norms of H5 and, therefore, typical of the *miyān*. We thus have:

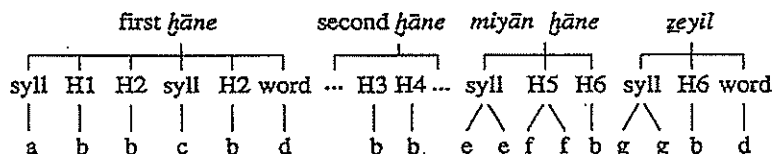


Figure 28

<sup>28</sup> HP: 68b = *edvdr*: 98.

The assumption, derived from Cantemir's account of the first *kār*, that the second *hāne* would include some if not all of the syllable and word material of the first is confirmed by Cantemir, who places the phrase 'first *terennümât*' immediately after the heading 'second *hāne*', and after H4 instructs 'repeat the second *terennümât*', which in Cantemir's version juxtaposes c and d (there is no repeat of H2 (or, later, H4)). After d comes a repeat instruction, but it is not clear whether this applies to d alone or to c as well although, given that no internal repeats are indicated for c, the latter is perhaps more likely. The *miyân* verse text (for which no repeat is indicated) is followed by the syllable section that in HP marks the commencement of the *zeyil*, and this by the word material that concludes it: there is no mention of a repeat of H6. Accordingly, the structure of the whole is:

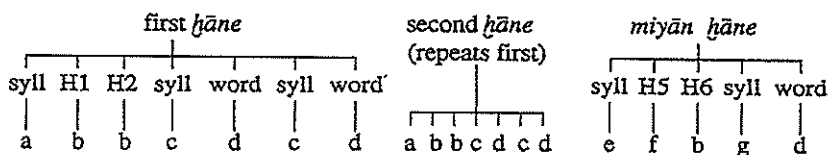


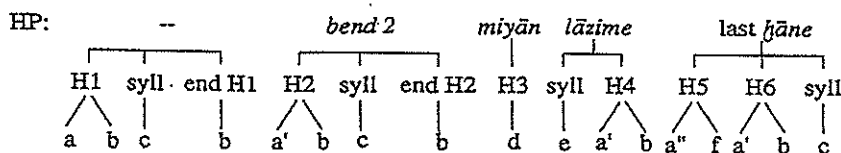
Figure 29

The material is thus the same, as is, despite the disagreement over the labelling for the latter part, the broad structural configuration. But assuming that Cantemir's account is comprehensive rather than elliptical, there still remains a major difference with regard to the inclusion or omission of a verse section repeat towards the end of each of the three *hāne* divisions.

Cantemir's third category, the three-line setting with *zeyil*, is yet again exemplified by a piece also represented in HP.<sup>29</sup> In the mode '*acem*' and the rhythmic cycle *muḥammes*, it is attributed, once more, to Ḥoca 'Abd al-Qādir. In the HP version the setting of the verse is recorded in rather more detail than usual, but the overall structure, ironically, is closer to Cantemir's prescriptions for the previous category, for there is no explicit mention here of a *zeyil*. Both agree that the second *hāne* (designated by the alternative term *bend* in HP) is here the setting of H2, and the *miyân* that of H3. For Cantemir the following section and H4 also form part of the *miyân*, while in HP they are labelled *lāzime*, presumably with reference to the resumption of the melodic material of the first *hāne* specified by Cantemir; and H5, the *zeyil* for Cantemir, is in HP the beginning of the last *hāne* (*hāne-i āḥur*), which for Cantemir commences with H6. The structural outline suggested by HP's version of this third *kār* is, accordingly, as follows:

<sup>29</sup> HP: 86b = *edvār*: 99.





(Slight differences in the number and nature of the prolongation syllables and other syllabic inserts suggest that, however similar, a, a' and a" are not identical. That f is distinct from b is clear from Cantemir's verbal description.)

Figure 30

As might be expected, not all the *kārs* in HP are structured exactly in the same way as those selected by Cantemir as representative, and two further examples may be mentioned. One, in the mode *niṣābūr* (12b), has the first four hemistiches making up the first two *ḥānes*, and H5 the *miyān*. This is followed by a *zeyil* consisting of a syllable section, H6, and a repeat of the final word section of the first *ḥāne*, conforming thus far to the pattern of the second *kār* above. However, the piece continues with another *ḥāne*, in a different rhythmic cycle, setting a line of verse with a different rhyme, reminiscent therefore of the *āwīza/gazal* of the antecedent tradition, after which comes a *miyān* reverting to the original rhythmic cycle and ending with a reprise of the final two parts of the *zeyil*. The other, in *pençgāh* (8b), also recalls the *āwīza* structure in having two different texts. The *miyān* is followed by a *lāzime*, partly a repeat of earlier syllable material, and then a *ḥāne-i āḥur* setting the second text, after which comes a concluding repeat of the *lāzime*.

These longer examples reinforce the similarities that can be seen between the structure of the *kār* and that of most of the forms of the antecedent tradition. Possible continuity is also suggested by the survival of the qualifier *muraṣṣa'*, previously applied to the *qawl*, but in HP to the *kār*. However, there appeared to be no particular structural feature common to the earlier pieces, and the same is true of the four *kār-i muraṣṣa'*, so that what the retention of this term might imply is not at all clear, especially as the one feature that seemed to characterize the antecedent examples, the combination of Arabic and Persian verse, is absent from the later ones, all of which are orthodox *kārs* in that they set only Persian texts. In general, comparison with the schematization of three-line settings in NO/G given in figs. 16 and 17 suggests that although important elements remain the same, major differences can also be discerned. It is true that the second *kār* seems quite close to these earlier models, preserving both the broad repeat of the material associated with H1 and H2 for H3 and H4, and also, as defined in HP, the specific repeat of H2 before embarking on H3. But against

this one may note the general shift in the function of the *terennümât* towards the repeat function of the earlier *sarband*, with the result that there is little trace of the more fluid patterns provided by the intercalations of non-repeating *tarannum* or *hung* sections. It is, therefore, less apposite here to speak of interlocking repetition as a characteristic unifying device, and hardly relevant at all in the case of the second *kâr*, where most of the *zeyil* is made up of material repeated from the end of the first *hâne*.

In the third *kâr* we also see the shift of the *miyân* back from H5 to H3, a position it had previously occupied only in two-line settings: the broad pattern of melodic repetition in this piece may conform to earlier models, but the distribution of the verse within it most decidedly does not. The most significant changes, however, are undoubtedly the abandonment or at least severe curtailment of the structural freedom that the earlier use of non-repeating sections had granted, and the reduction of the *bâzgaşt*, which had formerly been of substantial proportions, to relative insignificance. The initial tentative equation of a syllable section in the first *kâr* discussed with the antecedent *bâzgaşt* may possibly be justified: new syllable material certainly occurs in all three between the *miyân* and the next verse section, but its length and, consequently, importance is by comparison much diminished. The result of these changes of emphasis and distribution is that whereas each *hâne* block may be internally of considerably greater complexity than that exhibited by the corresponding section of the *murabba*'s notated by 'Alî Ufkî, their straightforward A A B A format is also broadly applicable to the *kâr*, the structure of the whole being, therefore, relatable to verse sections in a way that earlier forms had, with their greater fluidity, evaded.

The differences in terminology, and more importantly in analysis, that the two accounts of these pieces reveal may point to a certain conceptual untidiness,<sup>30</sup> but do nothing to conceal a clear structural outline that could be adduced in support of the semantic equivalence of *kâr* and *'amal* as an indicator of continuity: the seventeenth-century *kâr*, like its predecessor, can be comprehended within a simple large-scale format in which melodic contrast is supplied principally by the *miyân*. But just as the complex patterns of interlocking repetitions both within and between blocks meant that for the *'amal* such a broad statement conveyed little of the variety that might be encountered, so too here, and not least from Cantemir's need to devise subcategories, we may discern flexibility, and need therefore to consider internal organization in rather greater detail.

<sup>30</sup> Significant variation may also be found within HP. Thus a *kâr* in *'rak* (fol. 115b) uses again the term *bend* (-i *gânî*), but this time to designate the area containing H3 and H4, while *miyân* relates to H5 and H6, and the *hâne-i âhur* is essentially syllabic.

3.3.3. *naķış*

On the basis of Cantemir's definition of the *naķış*<sup>31</sup> which, from its name, should with even greater justification be regarded as a likely continuation of an earlier form, it is not easy to see in what respects it may have differed from the *kār*. Three varieties are again distinguished and although one is a new structure, having neither *zeyil* nor *miyān*, the other two, as described, are not: one is defined as a three-line setting with both *miyān* and *zeyil*, the other as a two-line setting with *miyān* but without *zeyil*, a description also, incidentally, valid for one type of *beste*. We may assume, therefore, that the distinctions between these genres were not derived solely from features of formal organization. Reference back to Ox would reinforce the conclusion that such structural overlap was not necessarily problematic, and that other factors were, indeed, involved: in the sixteenth century we not only encounter a marked preference in the *naķış*/*naķış* for a single and otherwise rare rhythmic cycle, but also find that the primary criterion of differentiation was linguistic, the equivalent of the *kār* having a Persian text, the *naķış* a Turkish one. By the late seventeenth century this crucial distinction has been lost, and the text of the *naķış*, too, is normally (if unexpectedly) in Persian, so that the major differences between the two would now seem to concern relative length and complexity and, as will be suggested in 3.6, to associations with particular rhythmic cycles, those most characteristic of one rarely, if ever, being used for the other.

In general, the *naķış* in HP, although containing a certain amount of syllable and word material, appear on average to be markedly shorter than the *kārs*. Some (e.g. 62b) set only one line of text, and therefore correspond to Cantemir's type with neither *miyān* nor *zeyil*. For an illustration, given in ex. 5, we may again turn to 'Alī Ufķī, for although the *kār* is unfortunately and inexplicably absent from his collection, the *naķış* is not, even if represented by only two examples. In the piece in question (67b/134) the mode is 'uṣṣāķ, the rhythmic cycle *muḥammes*. Here the proportion of syllable material to verse is higher than is usual in HP, but not necessarily the degree of repetition (and to the extent that it could have been normal to repeat not only verse sections but also each of several subdivisions of the syllable block, the appearance of brevity may be deceptive.) What is surprising, rather, is that although the splitting of a single block of syllable material into two parts, the first of which (here termed *bend-i evvel*) will not recur later in the piece while the second (*mülâzime*) will, has been noted already as standard in the antecedent tradition, there is no precedent for the whole block preceding the verse text, which in consequence is held back until after the introduction of the ritornello material. Compared with the *kār*, therefore, this piece should be regarded not as starting with a *mustahall-*

<sup>31</sup> *edvâr*: 100-1.

*bend-i ervel*

16  
8

det - te - re dir ler ler dir te ne - nâ de-re tî lî len

len ey tâ - dir tâ dir tâ dir te ne - nâ de-re tî lî len len ey

*mülâzime*

tâ nâ dir ney tâ nâ dir ney tâ nâ dir ney det-tere tî lî len

ten ten ten ten nâ det-tere dir ler ler dir te ne nâ de-re tel lel len

*bend-i şânî*

gar şa vad bar man mül-yes - ser dî - de ân dî dâ r-i tî

tâ kı yâ met bar na - dâ ram dî de az dî dâ r-i tî

(the *mülâzime* is repeated here, followed by:)

ahî ahî ahî hey câ nîm hey hey hey hey yâr  
mî rîm

dî - de az dî dâ r-i tî

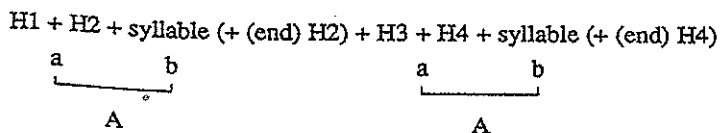
(1: written as a half-bar to be repeated, with  $c = \text{♩}$ . The rests later in the piece are editorial additions.)

### Example 5

like syllable section preceding the setting of the first hemistich (or line), but with the syllable block following the first verse section. It may be noted, incidentally (this being an aspect on which the song-text anthologies can shed no light), that the melodic structure of the piece operates across the syllable/verse section divisions: the descending phrase (*f e*) *d* (*c*) *B* *A* occurs in no fewer than eight cycles (20 with repeats), and both the *bend-i şânî* and the final section

utilize, with slight variations, material in the *mülâzime*: contrast is thus kept to a minimum.

Some *naķış* in HP also begin with a syllable section (that of 31b, for example, is quite substantial, and to be repeated, while 4b presents a piece which even begins with two such sections), but the majority do not, the commonest pattern being for the syllable block to follow the verse block (just as with the sixteenth-century *naķış* in Ox). Although repetitions within syllable sections are indicated, the *naķış* is characterized by a greater economy of internal form labels than the *kār*: there is, crucially, no reference to *miyân* or *zeyîl* sections, and it may well be, therefore, that most of the *naķış* in HP conformed to Cantemir's type without a *miyân*. The consequent assumption - again as with the sixteenth-century *naķış* - that where the *terennümât* block is given after the verse it was repeated with each line, is lent support by the occasional prefacing of this block by the term *lâzime* which, like *mülâzime* above, implies repetition, and is confirmed by a few cases in which the syllable material is inserted after the first line of verse. If the *naķış* consisted typically of a setting of two lines of verse we would, accordingly, have a broad formal design of the type:



fundamentally different from, and more compact than, the overarching A A B A *kār* pattern. Within each half further subdivisions may have occurred, for example through the insertion of syllable material between the hemistiches, and 87a provides an example of the addition, after the first syllable block, of a repeat of H2 and a further, shorter, syllable section to conclude the half, which thereby acquires a complexity comparable to that found in the *kār*.

In illustration we may cite as ex. 6 the second *naķış* in 'Ali Ufķi (177b/314), which is in the mode *nevrûz-'acem* and the rhythmic cycle *ħafîf*. From the lay-out of the verse it is evident here that the whole was to be repeated with the second line. Reference to the formal definitions provided by Cantemir shows this example to be typical of one of the two-line *naķış* types, in which the complete block consisting of H1 + H2 + syllable material (*terennümât*) is termed *serĥâne*, and the repeat with the second line of verse *ĥâne-i şânî*. This, Cantemir observes, may be omitted, as it is an identical repetition.

Such is not the case with the other two-line type. In this H3, together with its own syllable section, forms the *miyân*, while H4 repeats earlier material, the overall structure therefore being, as with the *kār*, a basic A A B A. With the three-line settings, where a greater degree of continuity with the

der bez - mi dil az rü - - yi tî

şad şen' ba rā foruht

vîn şur - fa ki bar ki bar rü yi tî şad gû - ne ho - cā - bast

det der dir ler ler to ne nay tā nā dir nay dir lā dir lā dir dir to ne naysā - h-i man

tî lîl lîl lîl lîr lā lā cî - ri nay tā nā dir nay ra' nā - yi man

âh hoy âh hey tî şā - h-i man yâr yâr yâr (yâr) tî mâ - h-i man

vîn şur - fa ki bar ki bar rü - yi tî şad gû - ne ho - cā - bast

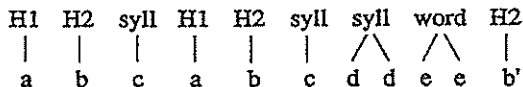
## Example 6

antecedent form might be expected, we again encounter the melodic contrast of a *miyân* section. H1 and H2 have the same setting, H3 is the *miyân*, and there follow H4 (a melodic repeat of H1); H5, termed *zeyil*, presumably also with new melodic material; H6, another repeat of H1; and a final syllable section termed *hâne-i âhur*.

With 24 attacks and 23 pitch changes to 14 syllables in H1 and 21 attacks and 14 pitch changes in H2 the general nature of the text setting in ex. 6 resembles that of ex. 1, except that here the treatment of the text is clearly

shown. It may be noted that syllable length, and consequently metrical structure, is largely disregarded by the composer: both long and short syllables are set with values ranging from ♪ to ♪/♪♪♪♪. But if melodic independence echoes what seems to be indicated by the anthologies of the antecedent tradition, there is otherwise a radical change in styles of setting, for no trace can be found in this seventeenth-century example of the massive textual distortion that, it has been suggested, was the norm in the earlier *naḥš* as well as in other forms: there are no extended syllable and word interruptions of the verse, and no lengthy strings of prolongation syllables. Even if it were argued that a change in style of articulation (or presentation) may have taken place, so that e.g. what is written as *yi* in cycle 1 might correspond, say, to a previous *yī'i'i'i*, each pitch change being marked with a separate attack, the incidence of such implied prolongation syllables would still be far lower than in the antecedent tradition.

Interesting from a formal point of view is the final recurrence, after the syllable material, of H2, and even more so the repetition, concerning which both HP and Cantemir are silent, of the verse together with the first part of the syllable material. Equally important - and another area in which enlightenment cannot be gathered from HP and Cantemir - is to note that H2 is not, despite the evident similarities, a melodic repeat of H1: the two form a through-composed unit, so that the structure of the whole is, in relation to the text:



Whether such a structure, repeated for each line, was also characteristic of the antecedent *naḥš* is impossible to determine. Ex. 6 corresponds perfectly to the pattern of alternating verse and syllable sections with a final hemistich repeat detected in 2.5.4.1, but as it is a two-line setting, a type absent from Ox, it may well be that each section had become internally more complex. It is possible, nevertheless, that patterns of melodic organization could have remained stable, and that the varied repetition of a small number of melodic cells (displayed in ex. 7) that constitutes ex. 6 corresponds to what was previously discerned as patterns of interlocking repetition. But such a supposition might be quite fanciful, and there is no evidence that can be marshalled in its support: the only possible direct comparison, that at the textual level, reveals little.

For Cantemir, as with the *kār* but not the *beste*, the inclusion of a syllable section in the *naḥš* is obligatory. But HP contains at least one example (40a<sup>4</sup>) devoid of syllable material, consisting of two lines of text followed by a further two lines, headed *lāzime*, with a different rhyme - unrelated verse, in other words, replacing the syllable section. The several *naḥš* on this



Example 7

folio exhibit, in fact, considerable variety: the remainder all contain syllabic material, but there is otherwise no visible uniformity of structure: 40a<sup>1</sup> consists of one line followed by a substantial syllabic block; 40a<sup>3</sup> has one line followed by a *lāzime* syllable + word section, then a line with a different rhyme headed *hāne-i dovom*, followed by a repeat of the *lāzime*; 40a<sup>6</sup> has a short fragmented text characterized by syllable repetition and word inserts followed by an extensive block of over 100 syllables, with internal repeats; and 40a<sup>7</sup> has two lines of



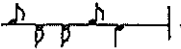
verse, a further line with a different rhyme headed *lāzime*, and a syllable section. From such evidence it is impossible to tell whether there were or were not standard patterns of sectional and melodic repetition and contrast. If anything, one might suspect that Cantemir's tidy account - including, we may recall, types containing a *mīyān* not signalled by HP - represents an attempt to impose order on what may have been a rather flexible song type best defined, perhaps, by a combination of formal, linguistic and rhythmic criteria typologically identical, therefore, to those observable in the sixteenth century. But continuity is not thereby guaranteed: both the rhythmic cycles and the language have changed. Indeed, taken in conjunction with the fact that some *naķış* are attributed to 'Hoca', and a few specifically to Hoca 'Abd al-Qādir, the change of language from Turkish to Persian might be interpreted as indicating change of status, the *naķış* becoming a 'classic' form and standing alongside the *kār* - as indeed it may do literally in HP, being generally placed towards the front of each mode section, ahead of the main block of unassigned pieces - as the vehicle for the supposedly most ancient part of the repertoire: there is no *naķış*, it may be noted, by Hāfız Post himself. (But against this view it can be argued that it would be unlikely for so many examples of an ancient and esteemed form to be anonymous, and for several of those included in HP to be later additions.)

### 3.3.4. *semā'ī*

Alone among the forms represented in HP, the *semā'ī* is recognized as falling into various subtypes, for although the great majority are simply termed *semā'ī*, there are a number of *semā'ī-i müstezād*, while in a few cases the heading combines *semā'ī* with *kār*, *naķış* or *şarkı*. This flexibility is confirmed by Cantemir,<sup>32</sup> who gives no general description but simply says that it can follow the *beste*, *kār* or *naķış* types; in other words that what distinguishes it is not some particular formal property but merely the fact of being in one specific rhythmic cycle.<sup>33</sup>

The *semā'īs* in HP are generally fairly brief in appearance, often consisting of just two lines of text with no syllable material, and no indication of internal structure. Reference to the notations of 'Alī Ufķī (and also to Cantemir's analogy with the *beste*) shows that such a representation may be fully adequate, and that the musical structure reflects the *aaba* rhyme scheme of the verse, being therefore identical with that of the *murabba'*. As an example we may give a *semā'ī* in *rast* (125b/241):

<sup>32</sup> *edvār*: 101-2.

<sup>33</sup> (*yürük*) *semā'ī*, defined by Cantemir as (6/8) . The ten time-unit (*aksak*)

*semā'ī* appears in the instrumental repertoire notated by Cantemir, but is nowhere represented among 'Alī Ufķī's *semā'īs*.

(H1) H2 (H4)

hey be - nef - şey - le - çi - men git - sün - gül i - le sün -

H3

- büt - lüñ dur - sun hey ruḥ - uñ şev - kı - y - le cism - zâr -

- e av - ma yağ - - duğ - um dağ - ı

## Example 8

The setting is almost entirely syllabic (17 notes to 19 syllables).

But not all *semā'is* are as simple, nor, as might by now be expected, are they without apparent structural variety. As a random sample we may consider the more than 30 *semā'is* contained on fols. 26b, 36b, 49b and 51a. Several of these are presented in a format reminiscent of the *naḥṣ* of Ox, that is, a block of text (in this case of two lines only), again with no internal indication of structure, followed by a syllable section ( $\pm$  word elements) and, as there, it would be reasonable to assume that the syllable section appeared before the verse was completed, presumably after the end of the first line, and was then repeated after the second line, the piece possibly concluding with the repeat of a verse fragment or even a complete hemistich (H4), and one of the *semā'is* on 26b does, indeed, contain a repeat of the end of H4 after the syllable material, while another inserts the syllable section (+ word element) after the first line, gives it the heading *lāzime*, and indicates the repeat of the same material after the second line. We also find on the same folio a piece, by Ḥāfız Post himself, where syllable material occurs after each hemistich, the repetition of which is, unusually, complete, the form of the whole being, therefore, H1 + (syllable) a + H1 + (syllable) b + H2 + a + H2 + b + H3 + a + H3 + b + H4 + a + H4 + b. H3 is preceded by the term *miyān*, so that after H3 a and b may be assumed not to refer to the same melodic material as elsewhere. Another *semā'i* by Ḥāfız Post (26b) includes the same syllable material after each of its four hemistiches,

but then adds at the end a further syllable block headed *lâzime*, which should also, presumably, occur more than once in the course of the piece. The *semâ*'s notated by 'Ali Ufki exhibit a similar pattern: the syllable material + verse (fragment) repeat appears not after each line but after each hemistich. The overall formal shape is the same as in ex. 4, melodic variety being provided by H3 and its associated syllable material. This type may be illustrated by a piece in *mâhûr* (125b/241) in which the setting, both for the verse and the syllable sections, is again almost wholly syllabic:

♩ — ♪

(H1) H2 (H4)

6  
8

öl - dü-rür-ler 'â - şı - kı şol gam - ze-i gam - mâz... i - le

yen-lâ ter ye le le le ley dost gam-ze-i gam-mâz... i - le

H3

bâ - de-i gül renk kı-er-ler muş-ri-b-i dem - sâz i - le yen

ter lâ ter yo - le le le ley - dost muş ri-b-i dem - sâz... i - le

(// marks the boundaries between verse, syllable and verse repeat areas.)

### Example 9

For 'Ali Ufki, repetition of the last one, two or three words of the hemistich, as exhibited in ex. 9, is also quite common in *semâ*'s without syllable material, but this feature is only fitfully recorded in HP: evidently the mnemonic power of the text was sufficient to render further specification unnecessary.

The sample chosen for examination from HP shows, in addition, a number of other types of organization. In most cases, however, variation relates to a text of more than two lines, and concerns the omission or inclusion of syllable/word material (and, if the latter, its position) and the technical terminology employed for the major internal divisions. Irrespective of whether or not syllable/word material is included, the main internal division marks in HP are inserted before the second and/or third lines of text. H5-6 (in a three-line setting) or H5-8 (in a four-line setting) are normally headed *bend-i şânî*,<sup>34</sup> while in certain cases the further heading *lâzime* appears before H3. The implication of repetition is sometimes made explicit, the piece ending with the instruction *lâzime hemcû evvel* ('*lâzime* as before'). The likelihood of the *lâzime* being melodically differentiated is supported by the verse structure, for the line to which the term relates frequently has a different rhyme to that of the preceding and following lines. But the structural implications are not wholly clear: if *lâzime* related only to H3 it would be reasonable to assume a broad A B A B formal outline; but if, as seems more likely, it implied repetition of the following hemistich also, the familiar A A B A structure would occur within each section (*bend*).<sup>35</sup> No trace of an A B A B structure is to be detected in 'Alî Ufki's notations, which generally stick faithfully to the format illustrated in ex. 6, the setting of the first two lines plus any supplementary material being repeated for any subsequent pairs of lines (although there is one clear exception in 106b/206, the structure of which is A (H1-2) B (H3-4) C (H5-7) A (H8)). Nevertheless, it should be observed that the number of three and four-line *semâ'î*s included by 'Alî Ufki is very small, so that the absence of other structures is not conclusive.

### 3.3.4.1. Other *semâ'î* types

As already mentioned, the headings of a small number of pieces combine *semâ'î* with the form terms *kâr*, *nağış*, and *şarkı*, while others are designated as *müstezâd*. Although etymologically identical with *mustazâd*, which earlier designated 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâğî's additional fifth *nawba* movement, and having the same meaning of 'extra', the implications of the term here have nothing to do with musical form: rather, it defines a particular poetic technique of extending the line, which retains its normal features of prosody and rhyme, but then has a short supplementary section which also rhymes. Since, as ex. 9 shows, the melodic unit frequently related not just to the line but to additional syllable material and/or repetition of the end of the line, there is no reason to

<sup>34</sup> The presumably synonymous *hâne-i şânî* may also be encountered. 49b<sup>2</sup> is a two-line setting in which the second line is headed *bend-i şânî*.

<sup>35</sup> Possibly exceptional is 49b<sup>5</sup> which has *mîyân hâne* in place of *bend-i şânî*. Unless a slip, this would suggest by analogy an A B C B structure.

suppose that the extra text supplied by *mültezād* verse would have musical consequences. Confirmation is supplied by what appears to be the only *semā'i* common to 'Alī Ufqi (84b/170) and HP (93b),<sup>36</sup> where it is classed as a *semā'i-i mültezād*:

♩ — ♪  
(H1) H2 (H4)

6  
8

çun böy - le i - miş n'ey - le - ye - lüm 'ä - det - i ger -

dün - dev-rân sū-re her dūn ger-dūn dev-rân - sū-re her dūn

H3

maḥ-bū - z-i ḵa-fes bāğ da şad mür - ḡ-i ḥo - ş-el -

hân bül - bül ki - hzâ - rân bül - bül ki - hzâ - rân

### Example 10

Not apparent from the form recorded by HP is, again, the text repetition at the end of each section. The notation also reveals that although the (largely syllabic) setting is faithful to the metrical structure of the verse to the extent that one time unit (♩) represents the maximum for a short syllable and the minimum for a long, the treatment of the sense is in one respect reminiscent of the cavalier attitude towards semantic content shown in the antecedent tradition, for the repeated fragment in the first section does not just consist of the post-rhyme phrase, but includes the (now syntactically isolated) rhyme word as well, so that in the setting of H1, for example, the rhyme word *gūlgūn* 'rose-coloured' is, when repeated, no longer attached to the noun *bāde* 'wine' that it qualifies, and a similar dislocation takes place in H2.

<sup>36</sup> As with the *murabba'*, the texts of 34 notated *semā'is* in 'Alī Ufqi were compared only with those in the corresponding mode blocks in HP.

The two *semâ'i* + *kâr* combinations appear to be nothing other than *kârs* in the *semâ'i* rhythmic cycle, and the same applies to the combination of *semâ'i* + *nakış*. In this the formal structure, typically consisting (11b) of two lines of text followed by two more headed *lâzime* and then a further two, headed *bend-i şânî*, represents that type of *nakış* in which the syllable block is replaced by other (unrelated) verses. With the *semâ'i* + *şarkı* combination, as expected, we are yet again faced with a piece conforming to the structural norms of the form but in the *semâ'i* rhythmic cycle.

### 3.3.5. *şarkı*

In this case, however, recourse to the *semâ'i* cycle is exceptional, for identity of rhythmic cycle is one of the features singled out as defining the *şarkı* form. Cantemir is quite explicit: only two cycles are used, *devr-i revân* and *sofyan*.<sup>37</sup> But the evidence provided by HP fails to corroborate this assertion, for although the number of rhythmic cycles noted is certainly restricted, with among them *devr-i revân* being particularly prominent, there are in all five cycles mentioned rather than two, with the following incidence:

<i>devr-i revân</i>	10
<i>düyek</i>	2
<i>evfer</i>	9
<i>hafif</i>	1
<i>sofyan</i>	4

The possibility of a change of taste towards the end of the century, with greater prominence being given to *sofyan*, and the less common cycles, *hafif* and *düyek*, falling out of use, certainly cannot be discarded, but the presumed demise of *evfer* can hardly be accounted for in this way, and it may be that Cantemir's account is on this point not wholly accurate.

The structure of the *şarkı*, to judge by HP, was for once quite uniform. In the majority of cases there are two lines of verse and then the heading *bend-i şânî* and a further two lines. On occasion (as in e.g. 47b<sup>2</sup>) a third couplet may follow (*bend-i şâlis*) and even (as in 131b) a fourth (*bend-i râbi'*). That we are dealing with a strophic form seems clear, but whether the setting for each block of four hemistiches had an H3 *miyân*, i.e. was of the form A A B A cannot be determined on the basis of the evidence provided by HP. According to Cantemir, the basic melodic unit relates not to the hemistich but to the whole line, the structure of each two-line strophe consisting of a first-line block called *zemîn* and a second-line block called *miyân*. The form of the piece as a whole was

<sup>37</sup> *edvâr*: 103.

therefore A B repeated for each couplet. The maximum number exhibited by HP is four, and this accords with Cantemir's description, which mentions a structure of six or eight verses (although as the majority of examples in HP have only two couplets one would have expected Cantemir to have mentioned a four-verse type also). We thus for once have a song type formally distinct from the others and one, moreover, which is defined by Cantemir in terms congruent, apart from the puzzling lack of any reference to the common use of the rhythmic cycle *evfer*, with the data supplied by HP. The notations of 'Alî Ufki, however, suggest certain structural variations. The couplet pattern is certainly adhered to, the verse, as in HP, being unified by the common rhyme of the last hemistich of each, but the dimensions of the piece are different, the normal length being five couplets, and the melodic norms hardly correspond to those laid down by Cantemir. Thus in one case (12b/23) we have a through-composed melody spanning all four hemistiches, followed by a brief textless passage,<sup>38</sup> while in others we encounter, as expected, two melodic phrases corresponding to Cantemir's *zemîn* and *miyân*, but spanning a hemistich rather than a line, so that the melodic shape for the couplet is A B A B rather than A B (29a/57), or, quite unexpectedly, not two but three melodic phrases, irregularly distributed, the first for H1, repeated for H2 and H3, the second for H4, and the third for the latter part of H4 (109a/210). Finally we have a *şarkı* which exemplifies the basic A B form, but in relation to a verse structure consisting of five (monorhyme) lines rather than five couplets, the setting consisting of two (largely sequential) melodic phrases, one for each hemistich. The one feature on which all three authorities agree is that there is no syllable section in the *şarkı*: but even here there is one partial exception, for the *semâ'i* in *şarkı* form (HP: 57b) - or the *şarkı* in the *semâ'i* rhythmic cycle - extends each hemistich with the same brief syllable passage.

### 3.3.6. *şavt*

Given the evidently marginal status of the *şavt* in the antecedent tradition, relatable, it might be thought, to its unusual structure, it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was the form most likely to be discarded. Of the mysterious *şavt al-'amal* category there is, indeed, no trace, but even if no less marginal than before, there being just three examples, the (*şavt*!) *şavt* is still attested in HP. All three pieces are grouped together with the *nakış*, and are

<sup>38</sup> Consisting entirely of a descending scale, some notes being repeated, it is called *persenk*. Not attested elsewhere as a musical technical term, applied to speech it implies the repetition of empty fillers. Assuming that here more than repetition is meant, one might assume either that any 'empty' word or syllable material could be used, which would be unprecedented, or, also unlikely, that the passage is instrumental. But the more basic meaning of *persenk* is 'make-weight', and it could be that the setting of the line, despite ending with a clear cadence, was somehow felt to be incomplete without this additional material: the nature of the realization remains, nevertheless, problematic.

presented in the same way, with two lines of text followed by syllable material and, in one case (41b), an indication of a final repetition of H4. The conclusion that we are dealing either with a small number of *naḳış* that happen to have been given a more generic label, or with a particular subcategory of *naḳış*, is supported by reference to the one notated example provided by 'Alī Ufḳī (138b/261), which resembles ex. 6 in presenting a verse + syllable + verse sequence, even if the distribution of elements in relation to the melody is rather different. Here the melody sets a single line (with a brief word insert) and is repeated both for the following syllable section and for the second line.

### 3.3.7. Formal patterns

Evident from the above survey is that for many song types there is no single, rigidly maintained pattern of internal organization, so that it may be possible to regard them as occupying various zones along a continuum moving between greater and lesser levels of complexity. From a purely formal point of view distinctions are thus more profitably articulated in terms of tendencies than of absolutes. Setting aside non-formal criteria - most obviously the association of the *semā'ī* with a particular rhythmic cycle (which has the logical result that the term is sometimes paired with a further form designation, *şarkı*, *naḳış* or *kār*) - we find that even where there is a fairly clear theoretical account of the internal articulation of a given type, the evidence of HP and, more particularly, of the notations of 'Alī Ufḳī may suggest the possibility of yet more variations and subtypes which tend to blur distinctions rather than clarify them.

At the same time, it is apparent that most forms are characterized by a general pattern of alternation or opposition of material. What differentiates them, therefore, is less a particular set of structural features than the level (or levels) at which the principle of contrast operates. A gradient could therefore be proposed, culminating in the complexities of the *kār*, and beginning at its simplest with the single line setting of 'Alī Ufḳī's *şavı* example which is then repeated, unchanged, throughout the composition. In this particular case (using upper-case letters for verse segments and lower-case for syllable segments) there is, consequently, zero differentiation between sections, the form being A A, and contrast can only be located at a level not normally available for inspection - that of the melody itself, which is readily divisible into various phrases with different finals.

With the *şarkı* we move to a straightforward case of alternation as the dominant pattern, the unit in question normally being either the line or the hemistich, yielding in both cases a repeated A B, the only variation being, therefore, the length of each member. The next step is the recurrence of A, which characterized both the *murabba'* and the *semā'ī*, the standard pattern being an A A B A distribution of material at the level of the hemistich. With *kār* and



*nakış* matters appear to be rather more complicated. Nevertheless, already noted in the discussion of the former (3.3.2) was the way in which the A A B A *murabba'* structure seemed to be broadly applicable to this more extended form and, as is clear from fig. 27, there are cases in which block repetition involved not only the setting of the verse but also the associated syllable material. Elsewhere there may have been a degree of variety in the non-verse segments of the large-scale sections recognized by the analytical terminology of Cantemir and Hâfiz Post (e.g. *hâne*, *bend*, (*mül*)*lâzime*, *miyân*), as is suggested by figs. 28 and 29, where the final section fails to repeat all the syllable material of the first, while fig. 30 indicates that the final section might also contain a new as well as a repeated verse segment. Even where the final section exhibits no new material it normally contains less than the first two, so that whatever the degree of internal variety it would appear appropriate to think of the overall structure as, rather, A A B A'. Alternatively, however, we could refer again to fig. 27, but this time pointing to Cantemir's highest level of abstraction, which implies rather that the composition as a whole may be conceived of as a large-scale A B structure, suggesting a vastly more complex equivalent of the *şarkı* rather than of the *murabba'*. But it must be stressed that such conclusions can be no more than provisional: they are derived from a very small sample and there are no notated examples against which they can be checked.

How important such verification might be is shown by the *nakış*, for the verbal descriptions of this form, which point to a structure not dissimilar to that of the *kâr*, are belied by 'Alî Ufki's two specimens. The first of these (ex. 5), if given in a song-text collection with only the section divisions indicated, would yield the structure a b C b d, the whole to be repeated. This is further analysable, if syllable string repetition is assumed to imply melodic repetition, as a (p q r q) b (s p q) C (t u) b d (v u'), which is, as it happens, not far removed from what the notation reveals. But it does, nevertheless, fail to pick up certain crucial melodic similarities (notably between the beginning of s and the beginning of t, and between q, u and u') which suggest that in place of a b C b d an abstraction of the order a' B a' a" might be contemplated. Thus in this case it is possible to discern some approximation to the A A B A' pattern, but at the level of half the piece (including only a single line of verse) rather than the whole. Elsewhere it is clear that, as noted in 3.3.3, the *nakış* is reducible to a fundamental, if large-scale, A B structure, in which case we again have a more complex equivalent not of the *murabba'* but of the *şarkı*. However, as exs. 6 and 7 make clear, such a reduction, derived from the inevitably limited data contained in the song-texts, can convey no hint of the possible existence of small-scale relationships that can provide melodic links between sections, thereby minimizing contrast in favour of unity through motivic integration.

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## 3.3.8. Internal form terminology

From the discussion so far it would appear that, taken in isolation, the amount and quality of the information provided by HP is in some respects disappointing. As will be seen below, HP is of considerable value in providing evidence of an essentially statistical order concerning the frequency of occurrence of modes and rhythmic cycles; the distribution of the latter in relation to form; and the extent to which we may or may not ascertain continuity of repertoire; and HP has further been seen to be of value in determining the relative incidence of the various forms and showing, up to a point, differences between their structures. But in this last area the information to be gained from it would be far more circumscribed, and difficult to interpret, were it not for the contemporary definitions of Cantemir and the notations of 'Alī Ufqī: while all three taken together shed far more light on seventeenth-century practice than any one considered in isolation, it has to be conceded that in relation to formal structure and the nature of text setting it is to 'Alī Ufqī that we must turn for confirmation or elucidation of what can sometimes only be guessed at from HP, not the other way round. If there existed detailed notations from a century before it is these, rather than the anthologies of the antecedent tradition, that would obviously be the primary sources, and no doubt they would demonstrate that many of the conclusions drawn, or rather suggestions made, in chapter 2 need to be qualified, revised, or even rejected. But it is still the case, despite all possible misinterpretations, that NO/G provides far more internal detail and hence potential information with regard to text setting than HP. As far as the internal terminology of form is concerned, however, it is less a case of absolute differences in the amount of information conveyed than a marked shift from detail and specificity in NO/G, particularly with regard to syllable sections, to the unadorned presentation of such material in HP, which thus resembles Ox and S in its manner of presentation. Of the former terms for syllable sections, *mustahall*, *tarannum*, *sarband*, *bāzgašt*, *hung*, and *naql-i digar*, only *tarannum* survives (in the form *terennūmāt*) as a generalized designation of predominantly syllable material, and even this is used extremely sparingly. In effect, all the form terms listed above *awwal/miṭluh* in table 7 (2.5.3.1) are dispensed with; nor is any reference made to the late seventeenth-century terms *zemin* and *serḥāne* (or *ḥane-i ewel*) relevant to this area which are used by Cantemir: the only term encountered before the equivalents of *awwal/miṭluh* is *lāzime*, which designates a block of material that is repeated.<sup>39</sup> The onset of the second main block is indicated by the terms *ḥane-i dovvom/ṣānī* or *bend-i ṣānī*.<sup>40</sup> That the second block

<sup>39</sup> A (rare) equivalent for this function in the *semā'i* is *miyān ḥāne*. The position of the repetition, on the few occasions it is specified, is at the end, the instruction being *lāzime hamgū ewel*.

<sup>40</sup> The latter is used exclusively in the *garḥi* and the *semā'i* (in which *miyān ḥāne* is a rare equivalent, or rather appears in the same slot), and normally in the *naḥs*, while the former is standard

may be a full repeat of the first is made explicit in at least one case (61b) where we encounter *hâne-i şânî hemçû evvel* ('second section like the first').<sup>41</sup> The most significant survival from the older terminology, *mîyân hâne*, is used with essentially the same structural implications. It is followed in many *kârs* by *lâzime*, sometimes, but not always, indicating the repetition of material, often predominantly syllabic, that has occurred before. Where the material after *lâzime* is new, it will presumably recur after one (or, possibly, both) of the other section indicators that occur in this form, *zeyil* and *hâne-i âhîr*. Whereas Cantemir states categorically that the latter term is associated with H4, in HP it is frequently followed by syllable material, and it is possible that there is some difference of usage involved, just as there has been seen to be with *zeyil*, in relation to which it may be noted that while there is no evidence in HP to suggest that it should imply that the material following will be repeated subsequently, it is clear that it does have that force where it occurs in instrumental *peşrevs* notated by 'Alî Ufîkî.

Within sections, HP resembles the earlier anthologies in using punctuation, overlining and a repeat indication. Corresponding exactly to the previous *t* or, in full, *takrâr*, it is the related participle *mükerrer* 'repeated' that is now encountered, being placed after the subsection concerned. The other two are less easy to interpret: the punctuation symbol '·' is, apart from its use as a hemistich boundary marker, extremely rare, occurring only within long syllable blocks in *kârs* (as in 40b<sup>1</sup>), and although it is obvious that it marks some kind of internal division it does not appear to separate, as did the earlier *tarannum* + *sarband* sequence, recurring from non-recurring material, so that its function might be to indicate rather a particular transition or section boundary within the melodic and rhythmic articulation. Overlining also marks transition, in this case from verse to syllable, and is in this function clear, if redundant; what is less easy to understand is why, on occasion, several short, juxtaposed syllable strings are each individually overlined, although one interpretation might be that the separate strokes have no functional load, the intention being merely to mark a whole syllable stretch as distinct from the preceding verse section. In any case, since many such transitions from verse to syllable are not marked by overlining it seems safest to assume that it is a random feature of presentation, having no structural significance. A further, if extremely rare, term is *naqarât*, which seems not, like the related *naqara* of the antecedent tradition, to refer to a repeat of a whole verse section, but to be, in effect, synonymous with *terennümât*, referring, as for example in 40b<sup>2</sup>, to the syllable material associated with the verse.

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in the *kâr*. The use of *bend* for further sections (*bend-i şâlîş*, third; *bend-i râbî'*, fourth) is confined to the *şarkî*.

<sup>41</sup> Which at the same time makes explicit the understood designation of the unlabelled first block as *hâne-i evvel* (or *bend-i evvel*).



syllable string + 'iṣvebāz ('coquettish')  
 syllable string + *servināz* ('sweetheart')<sup>43</sup>

These additions reflect through their further emphasis on the more flirtatious end of the semantic spectrum of love poetry an important trend in the textual preoccupations of the repertoire as a whole. Love, in its various manifestations, and whether understood literally or symbolically, now dominates to a greater extent than hitherto. Of the other traditional themes the bacchic is by no means neglected, but the previously important area of panegyric has receded into insignificance.<sup>44</sup>

The range of exclamatory particles often occurring in association with such basic words as *cān*, *dōst* and *yār* is slightly narrower than before, but uses the same ingredients. The normal configuration is to combine the elements *ahā* and *hey*, either repeating each one singly, or both as a pair. The sequence may end with *vāy*, and in place of *ārī* its synonym *belī* may also be inserted before the word(s). Although confined to this particular context, *ahā* and *hey* may also be viewed as in a certain sense maintaining the contrastive role of the now defunct *hung* syllables, since like them they never mix with the main body of syllables. It may be noted that the syllabic range is again narrower than before, the important block of syllables incorporating /k/ having disappeared (nor is there any trace of /k/ as a constituent of prolongation syllables).

It might be predicted, by analogy, that the general repertoire of syllables would closely resemble, but be smaller than, that encountered in the antecedent anthologies, and a survey of a number of *kār* and *naḳiṣ* pieces with a substantial syllable content confirms that such is indeed the case. As already noted, short vowel qualities are not indicated in HP, so that it is not possible to be precise about the number of distinctions that were made, but assuming that, as before, we have a basically binary system (in which short /e/ corresponds to long /ā/) - and that the right decisions have been made - the inventory of syllables, displayed as in 2.4.4, is as follows:

<i>ā</i>	<i>te tā</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>ne nā</i>	<i>ye</i>
	<i>ten</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>rī</i>	<i>lī</i>	<i>lī</i>	<i>nī ney</i>	<i>yen</i>
	<i>tir ter</i>	<i>dīr</i>		<i>len</i>		<i>nen</i>	
	<i>tīl</i>	<i>dīll</i>		<i>līl</i>	<i>līl</i>		
		<i>dēt</i>		<i>līr</i>			
		<i>dem dīm</i>		<i>lem</i>			

<sup>43</sup> Others include *ra'nd-i man* ('my pretty one') and *nāzenin* ('graceful').

<sup>44</sup> For a survey of the thematic range of *divān* poetry see Andrews 1985. On love poetry in other Islamic literatures see EP<sup>2</sup> s.v. *ghazal*.

Ignoring vowel length as a significant feature, one might note as the most interesting change the now total exclusion of any syllable containing one of the *hung* consonants (/h ' k/). The only other losses that may be considered systematic concern the set of syllables of the form *rvc*. The fewer innovations - given that *det* (< *dat*) has been noted (2.5.2) as occurring in S and Ox - are also consistent in that all have a final nasal consonant: *dem*, *dīm*, and *lem* exhibit a dissimilatory tendency in preferring the non-homorganic nasal (although *lem* does coexist with *len*), while the apparently exceptional occurrence of the homorganic /n/ in the innovatory syllable *yen* may be explained by the retrogressive assimilatory pressure of /t/, the normal following syllable being *ter*. Both *yen* + *ter* and *det* + *de* + *re* represent standard sequences, and an impressionistic assessment of the data would suggest that such sequences possibly form an even higher proportion of the total than before. The ones previously noted are still current (*tā* + *nā/dir*, *dir* + *ten/nā*, *te(n)* + *ne* + *nen*, often with repetition of one or more element), with the exception of *tī* + *lī/lā*, which is replaced by *ye* + *le* + *lel* + *lī/lā*, with optional repetition of one or both of the inner elements. This sequence occurs in *kārs*, but is particularly frequent in *semā*'s where, in a further development away from the norms of earlier syllable sections, in which other sequences dominate, it commonly provides all the syllable material there is.

### 3.5. Mode

Compared with the anthologies of the antecedent tradition, HP differs quite significantly in the number of modes under which pieces are classified, the 32 that are mentioned being approximately half the previous total. Among them are, nevertheless, four not found before: *'arāzbār*, *bābā ṣāhūr*, *bayātī*, and (even if not represented in the collection itself) *'acem*-*'aṣīrān*, the only apparent combination mode. But all earlier such combinations and, in addition, some 20 or more other modes cited in Ox and S, seem to have fallen by the wayside, so that considered in isolation the evidence of the song-text collections points to the transition between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries having been marked by quite radical transformations. However, while new modes have certainly been added and others shed, the changes may not necessarily have been as dramatic as the above figures suggest, for some of those absent from HP do make an appearance in Cantemir's collection. This refers to a considerably larger number of modes, including at least nine cited in the antecedent tradition but not in HP.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> And one may further point to the reemergence of one or two others, such as *baḥr-i nāzik*, in eighteenth-century song-text anthologies. However, it should also be pointed out that Cantemir refers to at least as many modes again that are absent from HP, but are this time unknown to the antecedent tradition.



'Ali Ufki, in contrast, has even fewer mode compartments than HP, 22 to be precise.<sup>46</sup> Such variations suggest a degree of fluidity or even uncertainty, some modes being subsumable under others to which they were closely related, with certain of the mode sections in HP and 'Ali Ufki consequently serving as broad catchment areas in which more than one might be represented.<sup>47</sup> Thus where HP has sections for both *râst* and *pençgâh*, and both '*uzzâl* and '*hicâz*, 'Ali Ufki has in each case only the former. Since both *pençgâh* and '*hicâz* are reasonably well represented in HP there can be little doubt that some of the pieces he assigned to them would have been entered by 'Ali Ufki under the other one of the pair.<sup>48</sup> Two clear indications of this kind of compression may be cited from 'Ali Ufki: the mode *gerdâniye*, prominent from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries (and related to *râst*), is allotted no section of its own<sup>49</sup> but appears nevertheless, for the *râst* section contains a vocal piece defined as in *gerdâniye* (115b/224); similarly with *dügâh*, previously even more important but also now without a section of its own, which turns up in the opening *hüseynî* section, the mode of the very first piece in the collection being defined as *dügâh-hüseynî*.<sup>50</sup>

That a mode so prominent earlier can now only exist in combination with another suggests that the map of the modal system had been to some extent redrawn in the intervening century. However, whatever the possible structural changes in individual modes, the general scheme of classification is different and, further, the degree of precision with which discriminations are made may not be the same, thus making comparisons between periods based on frequency of occurrence a hazardous enterprise: should the incidence of seventeenth-century *râst* be compared straightforwardly to that of sixteenth-century *râst*, or *râst* and *gerdâniye* together? Some feature are, nevertheless, immediately recognizable, indicating obvious continuities: the three most common *şudûd* again feature prominently in HP, where *hüseynî* with 131 pieces is by far the most common mode, and '*irâk* is one of a following group with between 62 and 52. But the reason for the prominence of the third, *râst*, evident from its position at the head of the collection, can hardly have been the size of its contribution; at a mere 17 this is relatively so much lower than before that one might suspect that pieces

46 Of the initial catalogue in HP 'Ali Ufki lacks '*aşîrân*, *pençgâh*, *rehâvî*, *küçük*, '*acem*-'*aşîrân*, *kürdî*, *bestenigâr*, '*hicâz*, *zirgüle*, and '*arabîr* and, of the *makâm*s in the body of the text, *bâbâ pâhir*. Not in HP but in 'Ali Ufki is '*aşîrân-buselik*.

47 The notion of a hierarchy of main and subordinate modes is reflected in Cantemir's terminological contrast between *makâm* and *terkib*. Related to this may be the appearance of certain modes only as modulations: thus HP: 37b specifies a modulation into *gûl'îzâr*, a mode which has no section (and no compositions) to itself, i.e. did not normally function as the principal mode.

48 He does, in fact, include pieces (e.g. 120b/233 and 122b/235) in *râst-pençgâh*.

49 Likewise in HP. Cantemir discusses it (*advâr*: 28), but notates no pieces in it.

50 'Ali Ufki similarly includes pieces in *makâm*s, different from the mode compartment headings, which are not found in the antecedent tradition: *bestenigâr*-'*acem* (108a/209) and *nevruz*-'*acem* (177b/314).

which would have been assigned to it previously are now being diverted elsewhere, just as the vastly enhanced numerical superiority of *hüseynî* might be partly explained by its having absorbed at least part of the area previously covered by *dügâh*, which fails to receive any mention in HP.

Although *dügâh* is alone among the most common earlier modes in disappearing completely as an independent entity, quite dramatic changes of fortune have also taken place elsewhere. From being prominent, *çargâh* has become quite rare,<sup>51</sup> while *nevâ* and *rehâvî*, apparently on the verge of extinction in NO, are now among the most frequently performed modes, as is *bayâtî*, a new addition. In this connexion we may consider not merely incidence within the repertoire as a whole, but internal distribution, and specifically the relationship between the number of occurrences in the *kâr* form, possibly representing an older layer, and that found elsewhere. We may note, first, that there are no *kârs* in the four new additions to the mode stock, '*arazbâr*, *bâbâ şahîr*, *bayâtî* and '*acem*-*aşîrân* - while conceding at the same time that in the case of *bâbâ şahîr* and '*acem*-*aşîrân*, which furnish between them just one piece, no significance attaches to this. For *bayâtî* and '*arazbâr*, on the other hand, which are represented by 54 and 24 pieces respectively, it might well be argued that the exceptional absence of *kârs* is not unconnected with their relatively recent emergence. However, ignoring as a statistically poor indicator any mode with a total representation of less than ten, we find among the modes also known to the antecedent tradition that there are a further four for which no *kâr* is recorded: *rehâvî* (52), *kürdî* (27), *hicâz* (21), and *bestenigâr* (16), and although it would be tempting to draw the conclusion that the enormous upsurge in the popularity of *rehâvî* might be related to the emergence of a new modal structure associated with which would be a new repertoire not containing *kârs*, there is no reason to suppose that a similar explanation would serve in the other three cases, and firm conclusions cannot, therefore, be drawn in the absence of further information about historical developments.

The general impression is thus of a quite considerable, if not readily explicable, shift in the fortunes of a large number of modes within the common stock, coupled with a few additions and, perhaps more significant, the shedding of a number of the modes that were less common in the sixteenth-century system, or at least their reduction to the status of satellites of more prominent neighbours. But the implications of this for the structure of the system as a whole can only be explored through the correlation of such information with what can be learned from both the theoretical literature and the notations. Furthermore, as already noted, while the very broad picture derivable from the contrast between HP and the antecedent collections is reasonably clear, detailed interpretation is hindered by possible variations in boundaries and definitions.

<sup>51</sup> For possible reasons for this see Wright 1990.

Certain aspects may, nevertheless, be explored through reference to contemporary sources. If, as the evidence of 'Alī Ufki would tend to confirm, there is no reason to suppose any significant difference in the frequency of utilization of modes in the vocal as against the instrumental repertoire, we may reasonably compare incidence in HP with that in Cantemir. Expressed as percentages of the total collection, the following are the figures for the ten most common modes in each:

HP			Cantemir		
1.	<i>hüseynî</i>	14.2	1.	<i>hüseynî</i>	14.8
2.	<i>'acem</i>	6.7	2.	<i>nevâ</i>	9.4
3.	<i>şabâ</i>	6.4	3.	<i>râst</i>	7.7
4.	<i>nevâ</i>	6.3	3.	<i>'ırâķ</i>	7.7
5.	<i>'ırâķ</i>	6.1	5.	<i>'acem</i>	6.25
6.	<i>bayâtî</i>	5.8	5.	<i>segâh</i>	6.25
7.	<i>rehâvî</i>	5.6	7.	<i>şabâ</i>	3.7
7.	<i>segâh</i>	5.6	7.	<i>bayâtî</i>	3.7
9.	<i>evîç</i>	5.2	9.	<i>pençgâh</i>	3.1
10.	<i>'uşşâķ</i>	4.3	9.	<i>muḥayyir</i>	3.1
(11.	<i>muḥayyir</i>	4.1	(12.	<i>evîç</i>	2.6
17.	<i>râst</i>	1.8	14.	<i>'uşşâķ</i>	2.3
20.	<i>pençgâh</i>	1.5)	17.	<i>rehâvî</i>	1.4)

Table 13

It will be seen that there is broad agreement about the relative status of *hüseynî*, *'acem*, *'ırâķ* and *segâh*, but that elsewhere quite considerable variations may emerge, culminating in the startling contrast between the respective percentages for *râst* and *rehâvî*. On the assumption that each mode section in HP is in an equivalent state of completion, this may at least be interpreted as confirmation of the suggestion made above of a breaking down of barriers between closely related modes and a consequent uncertainty in assigning pieces to one or another.<sup>52</sup>

As noted above, a further area of difference between HP and the earlier collections concerns the way modes are ordered. The previous conceptualization, by which they are grouped according to a hierarchy of sets, the twelve *şudûd* (to

<sup>52</sup> Cantemir (*edvâr*: 47-8) claims that *rehâvî* is *mevcûd ül-ism ma'dûd* (sic ?for *ma'dûm*) *ül-cism*, i.e. exists in name only, the reason being that there is nothing to differentiate it from *râst* - a view evidently not shared by Hâfiz Post. Relevant here is to note that a later (eighteenth-century) *güfte mecmuası*, MS Topkapı R 1723, has a section heading combining the two: *râst ma'ahu rehâvî*.

which NO restricts itself) being followed by the six or seven *āwāzes* and then the remainder (four sometimes being classed as *šu'bas*, the others as *tarkibs*), was seen not to represent accurately their relative importance in practice, and must have been abandoned some time before HP, for the only vestiges that remain are one piece (61b) that has *duwāzdah* in its heading and contains a corresponding modulation sequence through the twelve *šudūd*, and another (136b) that progresses likewise through the six *āwāzes*. Modulation sequences are otherwise hardly ever indicated by HP, but the instrumental examples provided by Cantemir confirm that the ancient scheme was no longer relevant to practice.<sup>53</sup> The particular order of presentation adopted by HP, which begins with *rāst* and *penggāh*, cannot, as reference to table 13 will confirm, have related to a hierarchy based on frequency of occurrence, and the reasons for it may be discussed further in the context of an examination of structure. To be noted here, finally, is that HP's order differs both from that of 'Alī Ufki and from the more schematic one employed by Cantemir to catalogue his collection, so that although certain small-scale groupings may have been conventional, there can have been no agreed standard overall sequence to replace the previous scheme.

### 3.6. Rhythm

With regard to the antecedent tradition it was noted that the identity and distribution of the rhythmic cycles in Ox and S resembled each other closely with, in particular, the same six cycles being preponderant in both. The total number reported, 23 in S and 36 in Ox, reflected a range of possible structures comparable in extent to that hinted at in NO/G. However, the fact that the rhythmic cycles are mentioned only sporadically and incidentally in NO/G precluded any firm conclusions about what changes might have taken place during the period covered, despite certain significant differences in nomenclature.

No such problems arise with HP. Comparison of the identity and distribution of the rhythmic cycles with those in S and Ox indicates that between the mid sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries a number of important developments had taken place. The total number, 26, is of a similar order, but of these no fewer than eight have names not recorded in the previous anthologies.<sup>54</sup> The possibility of old wine in new bottles cannot be totally discounted, especially as there is some evidence of changes (or equivalences) of name;<sup>55</sup> but that substitution should occur on such a grand scale can be dismissed as implausible, and the majority of the eight may be accepted as new creations. Equally, change

<sup>53</sup> And HP does itself indicate (37b) one sequence that lies outside the traditional patterns: *gārgāh* → *gūl'izār* → *'arātibār* → *hicāz*.

<sup>54</sup> *devr-i hindī, devr-i kebīr, nūn devr-i kebīr, evfer, frenkzīn, nūn devr, sofyan* and *zencir*.

<sup>55</sup> NO, for example, has *far'-i muḥammas*, but not *far'*, Ox the opposite. That the distribution is not accidental, and that the two are to be equated, is indicated by the fact that exactly the same variations are to be observed in Cantemir and HP respectively.

is indicated by the subsequent loss of no fewer than 13 of the cycle names mentioned in Ox, of particular significance being the disappearance of *se dār*, by far the most important cycle in the mid sixteenth century, and of two others, 'amal and *ċār dār*, which also figure among the six most commonly used.<sup>56</sup> The identity of the equivalent six most common cycles in HP is consequently quite different. But it is not only that the three missing cycles are replaced: of the previous six only one, *taqīl/şakīl*, remains equally prominent, and among the newly promoted cycles there are two, *şenber* and *evfer*, that receive no mention in Ox. It is difficult not to conclude that we have here evidence of a major transformation affecting both the nature of the cycles used and their distribution.

One general line of enquiry that the antecedent tradition does not permit concerns the possibility of particular associations between rhythmic cycles and forms (there appear to be none between rhythmic cycles and modes). Except in the special cases of 'amal and *ċār dār*, NO/G indicates form but not cycle, S and Ox cycle but not form. However, in the latter it may be noted that the greatest concentration of *nawba* movements is in the *taqīl* block, and with HP we are on rather firmer ground in thinking that such a relationship of form to cycle may not be fortuitous. Discounting, because of its formal fluidity, the particular association of the *semā'i* genre with a particular rhythmic cycle,<sup>57</sup> we may consider the incidence of the various cycles in the three major forms specified, *kār*, *naķış* and *şarkı*, and in the larger group of unassigned pieces. Ignoring the *semā'i* rhythmic cycle it turns out that while the six most commonly used in HP as a whole are *şenber*, *şakīl*, *evfer*, *devr-i revān*, *muħammes* and *ħafif*, the corresponding set in any one of these four categories may be significantly different.

Taking into account all pieces assignable to the *kār* category, we find that *şakīl* and *ħafif* are particularly prominent, but that of *şenber* and *evfer* there is in contrast no trace, while there are only two instances of *devr-i revān*. *muħammes*, on the other hand, is reasonably well represented (although hardly more so than *türki dār*, not one of the top six). But not only does the frequency profile for the *kār* differ from that of the repertoire as a whole, it also differs markedly from that exhibited by the *naķış*:

<sup>56</sup> The remaining ten cycle names that disappear are: *darb al-jadid*, *darb al-qadim*, *jarr-i ħafif* (Ox and S also have *jarr*, again unknown later, but which in one place is equated with *nīm (taqīl)*, *sarī' al-hazaj*, *muħajjal*, *sarandās*, *türki-yi aşı*, *far'-i türki-yi aşı*, *mī' alayn*, and *şarab angiz*. It may also be noted that Ox and S distinguish, as HP does not, between *ramal-i jawl* and *ramal-i qaşır*; and that there are a further three cycles found in S but not in HP (or Ox): *jarr-i mahfūf*, *rāhkard*, and *dīvān* (not to be equated with *rawān*: the *rid* distinction in S is, generally, clearly maintained).

<sup>57</sup> As the notations of Çantemir make clear, there were two quite distinct cycles to which this name was applied, a six time-unit cycle (*yürük semā'i*), and a ten time-unit cycle (*semā'i-i lenk*). The great majority of these instrumental *semā'is* are in the former, as are all the vocal examples notated by 'Alī Ufki, thus making it certain that it is this cycle with which the overwhelming majority, if not the totality, of the examples in HP would be associated.

<i>kār</i>		<i>naķış</i>	
<i>hāfif</i>	13	<i>evfer</i>	20
<i>şakıl</i>	13	<i>türki dārb</i>	10
<i>muḥammes</i>	6	<i>muḥammes</i>	8
<i>türki dārb</i>	5	<i>evsaf</i>	7
<i>devr-i revān</i>	2	<i>devr-i revān</i>	7
<i>düyek</i>	2	<i>devr-i hindī</i>	3
<i>fer'</i>	2	<i>fer'</i>	2
<i>nīm şakıl</i>	2	<i>sofyan</i>	2
<i>dārb-i fetih</i>	1	<i>devr-i kebür</i>	1
		<i>düyek</i>	1
		<i>faḥte</i>	1
		<i>hāfif</i>	1
		<i>nīm şakıl</i>	1

Table 14

The contrast is quite startling: except for one (later) piece in *hāfif*, neither of the two major *kār* cycles (which account between them for well over half the total) is used at all in the *naķış*, while the one that clearly dominates in the latter, *evfer*, is equally absent from the former, as is another common *naķış* cycle, *evsaf*. But while it is evidently possible to speak here of a close relationship between rhythmic cycle and form, it does not follow that the two forms can be identified simply by the presence or absence of a given cycle, since others, such as *muḥammes* and *türki dārb*, are readily used in both. Nor can one conclude from the absence of the other cycles from table 14 that they could never occur: it would be prudent to attribute the fact that a far larger number of cycles is used in the unclassified group in part to the size of the sample.<sup>58</sup> But it is surely not without significance that the names of all the four cycles most commonly used in the *kār*, representing what must have been perceived as the most ancient part of the repertoire, are encountered in the antecedent tradition, with the two most prominent, *hāfif* and *şakıl*, also figuring among the six most used sixteenth-century cycles, whereas *evfer*, the most characteristic cycle in the *naķış*, which appears to be a relatively recent occupier of part of the 'classic' end of the repertoire, is a later innovation. But here, too, selectivity is at work, for

<sup>58</sup> General confirmation of the distribution in table 14 is provided by the material that surrounds S in Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef. 1002. This consists almost exclusively of *kārs*, 64 in all, and is probably either contemporary with, or only slightly posterior to, HP. Here *hāfif* is clearly the favourite cycle, but *türki dārb* rivals *şakıl* for second place. The total range, significantly, is again small, only ten cycles being represented, four of them by a single composition. Of those that appear more than once the percentage of the total they account for is: *hāfif* 36, *şakıl* 16, *türki dārb* 14, *düyek* 11, *muḥammes* 9, and *nīm şakıl* 8.

not all such innovations appear permissible. Particularly noteworthy is the absence of *çenber* which, despite being extremely common in the repertoire as a whole, fails to be used not only in the *kâr* and *naķış*, but also in the *şarkı*.

The distribution of the rhythmic cycles in the much more numerous category of the unassigned pieces is as follows (with, added after, the figure for the collection as a whole, *semâ'î* again excepted):

<i>çenber</i>	81	(81)	<i>evsať</i>	9	(61)
<i>şakıl</i>	67	(81)	<i>zencîr</i>	9	(9)
<i>evfer</i>	49	(79)	<i>berefsan</i>	8	(8)
<i>devr-i revân</i>	46	(67)	<i>fahte</i>	7	(8)
<i>muhammes</i>	32	(47)	<i>darb-i fetih</i>	5	(5)
<i>devr-i kebîr</i>	23	(24)	<i>türki darb</i>	5	(10)
<i>nîm devir</i>	22	(22)	<i>sofyan</i>	4	(10)
<i>remel</i>	19	(19)	<i>frenkçin</i>	3	(3)
<i>düyek</i>	14	(19)	<i>nîm şakıl</i>	3	(5)
<i>fer'</i>	14	(18)	<i>darbeyn</i>	1	(1)
<i>hafîf</i>	14	(29)	<i>hezec</i>	1	(1)
<i>devr-i hindî</i>	11	(14)	<i>nîm devr-i kebîr</i>	1	(1)
<i>hâvî</i>	10	(10)			

Table 15

The only cycle not employed in this block is precisely the *semâ'î*, which with some 250 appearances overall is at least three times as common as any other, and given the general formal similarities observed between the unassigned pieces and the *semâ'î*s it would appear that it is the identity of the rhythmic cycle that constitutes the crucial differentiation factor. As in the antecedent anthologies the six most common cycles account for some three-quarters of the whole repertoire (but with *semâ'î* far more prominent than *se darb* was in the sixteenth century).

A further aspect of rhythmic differentiation is represented by the organization of the vocal *faşıl*. Our knowledge of this is derived, however, not from HP, which gives no hint that the *faşıl* even existed, but from Cantemir.<sup>59</sup> As he describes it, it consisted of the sequence *taķşîm*, *beste*, *naķış*, *kâr*, and *semâ'î*, representing therefore a comprehensive set of transitions not only at the level of language (from no text to text, and within the latter from Turkish, with little or no word and syllable material, to Persian, with an increasing amount of word and syllable material, and back again) and form (from improvised to pre-composed, and within the latter from relatively short and simple to relatively long and complex, and back again) but also at that of rhythmic organization

<sup>59</sup> *edvâr*: 103.

(from absence to presence of a rhythmic cycle, and within the latter from a form allowing any cycle except one, to two forms in each of which the preferred cycle is different, and ending with a form prescribing the cycle initially prohibited).

Given that there do appear to be quite well defined associations between certain rhythmic cycles and at least three of the vocal forms in HP, one might wonder whether more general lines of cleavage are discernible between the vocal and instrumental repertoires. Table 16 gives in percentage form the relative frequency of the ten most commonly used cycles in HP as compared with the equivalent set for the instrumental pieces notated by Cantemir:

HP		Cantemir	
1.	<i>semā'ī</i> 29.5	1.	<i>düyek</i> 23.6
2.	<i>çenber</i> 9.6	2.	<i>devr-i kebîr</i> 11.6
3.	<i>şakîl</i> 9.5	3.	<i>şakîl</i> 10.8
4.	<i>evfer</i> 9.3	4.	<i>(yürük) semā'ī</i> 9.4
5.	<i>devr-i revân</i> 7.9	5.	<i>darb-i fetih</i> 7.4
6.	<i>muhammes</i> 5.6	6.	<i>fahte</i> 6.8
7.	<i>hafif</i> 3.4	7.	<i>muhammes</i> 5.4
8.	<i>devr-i kebîr</i> 2.8	8.	<i>bereşan</i> 4.8
9.	<i>nîm devir</i> 2.6	8.	<i>çenber</i> 4.8
10.	<i>türki darb</i> 2.4	10.	<i>hafif</i> 3.7
(11.	<i>düyek</i> 2.2	(11.	<i>devr-i revân</i> 2.6
19.	<i>bereşan</i> 0.9		<i>evfer</i> -
19.	<i>fahte</i> 0.9		<i>nîm devir</i> -
21.	<i>darb-i fetih</i> 0.6)		<i>türki darb</i> -)

Table 16

Detailed comment here would be superfluous. It is quite evident that the difference in distribution between the two repertoires was quite marked, the most significant contrast being the complete absence from the instrumental repertoire of three cycles that between them account for over 14% of the vocal repertoire as represented in HP. (Assuming that HP's *fer'* may be identified with Cantemir's *fer'-i muhammes*, the one cycle employed only in the instrumental repertoire if, as is likely, *semā'ī* in HP always means *yürük semā'ī*, is *semā'ī-i lenk*.) Contrast, often extreme, is also the order of the day elsewhere: *semā'ī* is much less prominent in Cantemir's list, while *düyek*, easily the most common instrumental cycle, can only manage eleventh place in the vocal repertoire;<sup>60</sup> indeed,

<sup>60</sup> The prominence of *düyek* as an instrumental cycle is attributable in part to the fact that it is used for a number of *mahter* pieces (see Sanal 1964).



only *şakîl*, *muhammes* and *hafif* have approximately the same degree of importance in both lists.

The two collections taken together yield over 1250 pieces, and it might be thought that any rhythmic cycle with a combined total of less than 5 (or under 0.4% of the whole) was distinctly marginal to the system. There are three such: *frenkçin* (4), *nîm devr-i kebîr* (1) and *hezec* (1).<sup>61</sup> However, having seen modes miraculously recover, and the most common rhythmic cycle in one century seemingly disappear the next, it should be stressed that noting how rare these three are should not be construed as predicting for them a speedy demise.

### 3.7. Composers and repertoire

It was suggested in 1.4.1 that the proportion of that segment of the repertoire common to NO and S which one might expect to have survived from one to the other was, given the probable time gap between the two, no higher than one-sixth. Between S and HP the gap is at least as great and probably somewhat greater, and one would expect, therefore, an even lower proportion to survive. Nevertheless, even if one were to consider a modest one-twentieth a more realistic figure, we would accordingly still anticipate encountering, in the context of a presumed common tradition, no fewer than ten of the pieces recorded in S within the more comprehensive coverage of the late-seventeenth repertoire presented by HP. At the same time we might predict, by analogy with a comparison of the contents of NO/G and S, that although many new composers would appear in HP, a considerable proportion of the collection would still be attributed to the usual handful of early great composers. That the general profile of composers in HP is very different was indicated already by the contrast between figs. 1 and 2 (1.4), but it is still rather surprising to find that virtually all the celebrated 'classic' names that are so prominent in the antecedent tradition have disappeared. Of Şafî al-Dîn and 'Alî Sîdâ'î there is now no trace, and even later composers of comparable renown such as Ğazanfar and Şams-î Rûmî have fallen by the wayside, leaving just one of the great ancestor figures to serve as the symbolic pole around which the supposedly more ancient part of the repertoire can revolve: 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâğî. Thus of the pieces designated, or identifiable, as *kârs*, no fewer than eleven from a total of 32 for which the composer is specified are attributed to 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâğî (generally called Hoca 'Abd al-Qâdir), while a further 13 have the laconic heading Hoca, and it is reasonable to assume that in the majority of cases 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâğî is again meant,<sup>62</sup> the remainder, perhaps, being thought to be the work of (Hoca)

<sup>61</sup> To which could be added, theoretically, two mysterious cycles cited by Çantemir (*edvâr*: 96): *h'arazm* and *yek dârb*, which are attested in neither the instrumental nor the vocal repertoires.

<sup>62</sup> Thus e.g. the piece known as *kâr-ı muhteşem* is attributed in HP to Hoca, while it now forms part of the 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâğî corpus.

'Abd al-'Ali, a shadowy, possibly late-sixteenth-century figure<sup>63</sup> explicitly named as the composer of three *kârs*, and the one potential addition to the pantheon of illustrious ancients.<sup>64</sup> Bearing in mind the low level of overlap in the contents of NO/G and the two sixteenth-century collections, despite their having a number of composers in common, the absence from HP of all but one of the composers around whose names the greater part of the earlier repertoire had crystallized inevitably leads to the conclusion, contrary to the prediction made above on the basis of the total number of pieces in S, that at best a mere two of three of the pieces considered in HP to be the work of 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâgî might be identifiable as survivals from the antecedent tradition. It is, therefore, hardly surprising - even if somewhat disconcerting when viewed against the popular (and partly scholarly) consensus of a continuity of tradition and repertoire in Turkish classical music stretching back at least as far as 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâgî - to find that, saving error, not a single composition recorded in the antecedent anthologies is still extant in the repertoire contained in HP.<sup>65</sup>

HP contrasts with NO not merely in contents but in approach. While the earlier collection bases itself on a restricted, and ancient, mode set, HP not only records a contemporary repertoire but gives a prominent place in it to the songs of Hâfız Post himself and to those of his pupil, İbrî, the two contributing over 200 pieces. That the majority of the composers, in contrast to those of the antecedent tradition, are Ottoman, is clear from their names, but for further information on origins and dates we must have recourse to other sources, in particular Es'ad Efendi, who refers to approximately a third of the ninety or so of those who are cited in HP.<sup>66</sup> As a group these appear to differ in no way from the remaining musicians mentioned by Es'ad Efendi: the great majority were either natives of Istanbul<sup>67</sup> or moved to it from other cities such as Diyarbakır or Ruşçuk, and virtually all are dateable to the second half of the seventeenth century, and in particular to the regnal period of Mehmed IV (1648-87) - being therefore contemporaries of Hâfız Post. Assuming that those included by Es'ad

<sup>63</sup> See Öztuna 1: 3; Ezgi 1: 262. The period is arrived at by inference, there being no biographical information.

<sup>64</sup> Among the large groups of *kârs* surrounding S in Bağdatlı Vehbî Ef. 1002 no less than 10 are attributed to him. It may also be noted that 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâgî is not mentioned, pieces attributed to him in HP now being said to be by Hoca - a further indication that in general Hoca = 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâgî.

<sup>65</sup> Arel (1950: 22) notes both the doubtful nature of present ascriptions to 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâgî and the absence of any of the pieces so ascribed from NO. Ezgi (5: 522) makes the same point with greater detail and emphasis, adding that the technical terminology is also different, and that the nature of the verse and syllable sections is somewhat dissimilar.

<sup>66</sup> The exact number is impossible to determine, as the form in which names are presented is not wholly consistent: thus we encounter not just Hâfız/Hâfız Post/Hakîr (-i Hâfız) and perhaps also Fakîr for Hâfız Post himself, but pairs such as Küçük İmâm and Küçük İmâm Çelebî, who may well be one person rather than two, whereas Receb and Receb Çelebî are not, according to Es'ad Efendi, who also distinguishes between two Yahyâ Çelebis.

<sup>67</sup> Understood here to include also outlying areas such as Eyüp and Üsküdar.

Efendi provide a representative cross-section of the composers in HP the emphasis is, therefore, very much on Istanbul as the major cultural centre, and on a repertoire which is predominantly an assemblage of what had been produced within one or at most two generations, for apart from the particular categories of the Persian language *kâr* and *nağış*, generally attributed to legendary composers and evidently considered to be the representatives of an ancient tradition,<sup>68</sup> the great bulk of material will have been produced by composers active in the third quarter of the century, with only a relatively few pieces surviving from composers of the preceding generation such as Koca 'Oşmân, Hâfız Post's own teacher.

The contrast between HP and Ox and S is evidently less: all cast their nets much more widely over the contemporary repertoire. But here, too, there is a considerable gulf, for, as noted above, we no longer find in HP the massive representation of composers from a bygone age so characteristic of the antecedent tradition. In all three the great bulk of the contents may, in fact, have been contemporary, or the work of the preceding one or two generations, but it is only in HP that this is recognized: its 'ancient' pieces, attributed to Hoca/Hoca 'Abd al-Qâdir or Hoca 'Abd al-'Alî, make up less than 5% of the total, as against over 40% for the equivalent material in S and Ox. Such a striking difference indicates a profound change in attitude, not so much to a perceived 'antiquity' or the reputation of particular composers as to the nature of the tradition itself, that is, to the relationship between the creative potential of the individual and the corporate system of modal, rhythmic and formal structures he utilizes. But on the basis of the evidence available no obvious explanation for such a change presents itself. The physiognomy of many of the vocal pieces recorded by 'Alî Ufki - together with their frequent anonymity - suggests the extensive application of basic formulas and hence the likelihood both that the art of composition, rather than being restricted to particularly gifted specialists producing complex works of recognized merit, resided in the satisfactory utilization of basic techniques access to which was relatively open, and that the resulting songs were likely to be ephemeral and easily replaced. However, their instrumental counterparts, even if in some cases equally formulaic, exhibited a greater measure of durability, many of the mid-seventeenth-century pieces notated by 'Alî Ufki surviving until the end of the century and beyond, and despite the lack of overlap between the vocal coverage of 'Alî Ufki and HP (itself difficult to interpret but possibly indicative of a lack of consensus as to what might constitute a stable core repertoire) the 'classic' element will grow again during the next century, a gradual expansion of the 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâgî and Hoca

<sup>68</sup> It should not be concluded, however, that these were ossified forms preserving a dwindling repertoire to which no further additions could be made: several of the *nağış* in HP are later additions, and in Es'ad Efendi 'İzzî is noted as a composer of *kârs* (even if such a designation is nevertheless the exception rather than the rule).

'Abd al-'Alī corpus being reinforced by the addition to the canon of works by such seventeenth-century composers as Receb, 'İtrī and, if to a lesser degree, Hāfız Post himself. A tentative interpretation might then be that the largely contemporary bias of HP is consistent with what it also tells us about the significant shifts in modal, rhythmic and formal structures and preferences between the mid sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries, the absence of survivals from the earlier repertoire indicating disjunction and a fresh start in which a major reformulation of the system as a whole goes hand in hand with the creation of a new repertoire. We might then expect that this repertoire could well have consisted in its formative stages of a readily replenished stock of songs stylistically different in their abandonment of an earlier tendency towards a melismatic approach in favour of one which often approximated to the syllabic, possibly thereby allowing greater aesthetic emphasis to be placed on the poetic text, formerly fragmented and distended, now generally whole and uninterrupted in its setting.

Confirmation that composition was not the preserve of a professional élite, as it had tended to be previously, and that the focus of music-making (and patronage) was no longer principally the court, may be sought in the sheer number and the variety of backgrounds of the composers represented in HP, and in the already noted disappearance of panegyric texts. Little is known about the composers, apart from the dates and a few general remarks supplied by Es'ad Efendi, but the fact that HP cites some 90, virtually all of whom may be presumed to have been active between 1620 and 1690, is certainly consonant with the notion of wide participation and access, and such is also suggested by the social spread indicated by their names, which range from assorted notables (two with the title *şāh*, a governor of Baghdad, various *paşas*, *begs*, *efendis* and *celebis*), through a variety of religious figures of varying status (a *kāzī*, two *imāms*, a *müezzin*, and no fewer than five characterized as *dervīş*) to those of humbler origin (*Sütçüzāde*, *Taşçızāde*, *Ḥammāmçızāde*), and is effectively in accord with the spread of participation found in later Ottoman times: it is true that religious/ethnic minorities (Armenians, Greeks, Jews) do not have the representation they will later achieve, both as composers and performers, but otherwise the social profile of HP is characteristically Ottoman, and somewhat different from that suggested by the antecedent anthologies. Of particular importance in this respect is to note as a new feature the contribution made by those with explicitly religious functions or affiliations. It is likely, especially in view of the recognition given by Es'ad Efendi to membership of the Mevlevī order in his biographical notes, that the Sufi *tekkes*, in particular the *mevlevī-ḫānes*, were already functioning as centres enabling a wider cross-section of the population to be exposed to parts of the repertoire, acquire performance skills and interiorize the structure of a musical system that, despite being used in HP principally to set *dīvān* poetry marked by a linguistic sophistication not fully

accessible to all and sundry, must have been available to, and benefited from the participation of, many more than the lettered élite who were the main producers and consumers of that poetry.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> But Andrews (1985: 176-83) adduces arguments against too narrow a view of access to, and comprehension of, *divān* poetry. Behar (1987: 27-31) explores, only to reject, the analogy of a trade guild for musical training and performance, stressing again open access against exclusivity.



## 4. Before, between, after

### 4.1. Introduction

Here an attempt will be made to widen somewhat the deliberately narrow focus of the preceding two chapters by extending the historical context both backwards and forwards, and by taking account of selected aspects of the theoretical literature from 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi to Cantemir. Reference to theoretical treatises has two specific purposes: to illustrate, through the definitions there provided, structural features to which the song-text anthologies provide no clue, and then to reverse the process, pointing out phenomena the treatises fail to mention and, more importantly, using the largely statistical information obtainable from the anthologies to shed light on the relative importance of various elements that the treatises simply list, thereby making the inner dynamic of the modal and rhythmic systems easier to comprehend. Equally selective will be the treatment of historical context. Rather than attempt a general account of musical developments over a period spanning several centuries, attention will be drawn to the history of specific compositions, and in particular to pieces by, or attributed to, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi which exemplify developments both prior to the antecedent collections and posterior to HP.

### 4.2. Form

In contrast to mode and rhythm, which together usually form a substantial, if not, indeed, central element of most treatises from 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi onwards, form is often neglected, or at best dealt with cursorily. Both 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi himself and Cantemir give detailed analytical surveys of all the major vocal forms known in their day, but in this they are the exception rather than the rule. The only works of the intervening period relevant to the antecedent tradition that provide accounts of any substance are the *majalla* of al-Širwānī (died c. 1453), which essentially does no more than reproduce 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi's descriptions,<sup>1</sup> the *risāla* by Binā'i (dated 1483), and the *risāla* by Najm al-Dīn Kawkabī (d. 1532).<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere we find little more than

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<sup>1</sup> *majalla* 2, fols. 215a-7b (D'Erlanger 4: 233-247).

<sup>2</sup> See Jung 1989: 90, 152-4.

occasional brief references to the *nawba*, reflections of its former importance telling us next to nothing about the structure of the individual movements.<sup>3</sup> For this, as well as for an account of the other forms mentioned in the antecedent anthologies, it is to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī that we must turn in the first instance. The obvious problem of the extent to which his descriptions, formulated in relation to the musical practice of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, are relevant to what was current a century and more later can be partially resolved by reference to the later account of Binā'i, which is contemporary with NO/G.

'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī begins by informing us that there are nine forms in all.<sup>4</sup> The *nawba* (or, more precisely, *nawbat-i murattab*), which constitutes just one entry in the list, is the first to be discussed, in an account which stresses the modal and rhythmic interrelationships between the familiar four movements (the preferred, if not obligatory, rhythmic cycles being *ṭaqīl awwal*, *ṭaqīl tānī*, *ṭaqīl-i ramal*, *fāḡīnī*, and *turkī-yi aṣl*). A further unifying factor is that the opening melodic material must reappear at the end.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4.2.1. *qawl*

There follows (fols. 95b-96a) a more detailed account of the individual movements, that of the *qawl* being especially full, analysing its internal structure and introducing the relevant technical terminology for the various sections. The initial stipulation is that the verse set should be Arabic, and we are also told that the song may commence at any point in the cycle. But the main concern of the description is with the internal formal divisions and the nature of their material (verse, word, syllable). The *qawl* begins with two sections called *ṭarīqa*, the first *ṭarīqa-i jadwal*, the second *ṭarīqa-i maṭla'*, no properties being specified for the former, but the latter being said to relate to a hemistich or to a whole line of verse. The sense of this is not immediately clear, and appeal to a preceding example of notation might suggest that the two terms overlap, or are even synonymous, referring therefore to an initial text-setting melodic unit of variable

<sup>3</sup> As in, e.g., ʿUẓar b. 'Abdullāh, *edvdr*, British Library MS Or. 11091, fol. 88 (where, interestingly, reference is made to differences between Arab and non-Arab practice) and Qāsim b. Dōst 'Alī Buḡārī, *risāla dar 'ilm-i mūsīqī*, John Rylands Library MS Pers. 707, fol. 40a. For further materials, see again derivative, see Jung 1989: 155-60.

<sup>4</sup> Bodleian Library MS Marsh 282, fol. 95a. All references will be to this autograph MS of the *jāmi' al-alfān*. The account actually begins with a statement to the effect that there are nine forms, followed by a list with ten names. These were then crossed out - probably because of the discrepancy: in another, slightly later autograph MS (Nuruosmaniye 3644, fol. 59a) the list contains nine entries, and nothing is crossed out. The problem arises out of the dubious status of the *hawā'i*, which can be viewed either as an independent form or as a subtype of the *zāhma*.

<sup>5</sup> *ibīda' wa-nūḡa' dar talḡin bi-yak āhang bāyad ki bāšand*. It is assumed that *āhang* (unhelpfully defined in al-Širwānī, *majalla* 2, fol. 218b simply as *ṣawt* 'voice, song') implies not mode in general but a particular melodic manifestation thereof: the same mode would in any case run through the whole *nawba*.



length.<sup>6</sup> Clarification may, however, be found elsewhere, in the ensuing descriptions of two other forms. The *ğazal*, which evidently resembles the *qawl* structurally, is said (fol. 95b) to contain both *ṭarīqa-i jadwāl* and *ṭarīqa-i maṭlaʿ*, and to this indication of their being not overlapping but separate entities we may add the use of the two terms as headings for different text blocks in the exemplification of the *naṣīd-i ʿarab* (fol. 98b). It is clear, therefore, that in the *qawl* (and certain other forms) the *(ṭarīqa-i) maṭlaʿ* designates not part or all of the setting of the first verse unit, whether hemistich or line, despite meaning 'beginning' or, in relation to poetry, 'opening verse', but the repeat of that material for the next unit: it is an exact equivalent of the familiar *awwal/miṭluḥ* of the antecedent tradition.

Next to be mentioned is an optional section called *ṣawt*<sup>7</sup> or, more familiarly, *miyān ḥāna*. This consists of new melodic material for half of its one- or two-line length (although the very beginning might coincide with that of the first section) followed by a reprise of the material of the first section, and allows the further option of inserting *nuqūṣ*, presumably 'decorative' passages involving word and syllable material. Obligatory, in contrast, is the *taṣyīʿa* or, more familiarly, *bāzgašt*, which contains primarily syllable material<sup>8</sup> but may combine with this further verses. Its length is at the discretion of the composer: indeed, two such sections may be included, in which case one may be verse, the other syllable. Reference is made to a concluding repeat of the initial *ṭarīqa*, but although it may be assumed that this was a normal feature, obligatory even, the text does not confirm that such was the case.

#### 4.2.1.1. Subsequent developments

Comparison of the above account with that emerging from the material reviewed in 2.3.2.5 indicates that, although the broad formal design survived unchanged, a number of significant developments had nevertheless taken place by the end of the fifteenth century. In interpreting that material it was assumed that the *miyān* provided melodic contrast, but even if there was internal evidence pointing towards this conclusion, it might be argued that it was insufficient to provide proof. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's definition, coupled with the seventeenth-century evidence of 'Alī Ufkī and Cantemir, may be taken as final confirmation that such was indeed the case. Whether the optional coincidence of the beginning of the *miyān* with that of the opening of the piece was still current in the sixteenth century cannot be determined, but the general dissimilarity in the

<sup>6</sup> Further grounds for considering the two synonymous might be sought in the following comments on the *miyān ḥāna*: we are told that if the *ṭarīqa-i jadwāl* is one hemistich in length then the *miyān* will be a line, and if the *(ṭarīqa-i) maṭlaʿ* is one line the *miyān* will be two.

<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere also *ṣawt al-wasaf* and *bayt al-wasaf*.

<sup>8</sup> It is *bi-alfāz-i arkān-i naqārdt* (or *tqd*) *wa-ğayrihd*, presumably referring specifically to *ta*, *tan*, *na* and *nan*, the syllables used to convey the structure of the rhythmic cycles.

distribution of prolongation syllables would indicate that this was unlikely. That the *miyān* as a whole should also be optional seems at first sight surprising, but as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī unfortunately does not discriminate between shorter and longer settings it may be that this simply anticipates later norms whereby the *miyān* is absent from one-line settings but present otherwise. A clearer case of continuity is provided by the confinement of new material to the first hemistich or line of the *miyān*, although in the antecedent anthologies the unit in question has been regularized as a hemistich. Equally familiar is the contrast supplied by the following syllabic *bāzgašt*, and the conclusion of the piece at least sometimes, and possibly always, with a further repeat of the opening material. From this one might wish to conclude that the large-scale structures A A B A (when the *miyān* is not present) and A A B A C A (when it is), have remained as constants over a period of at least a century and a half. However, the internal complexity of the pieces recorded in NO/G meant that such abstractions could convey at best only a small amount of significant information, and might even be misleading, and without a record of comparable detail it would be unwise to assume that in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's day the situation was much different, so that the degree of continuity cannot be assessed with great precision. There is, nevertheless, a clear structural parallel to be detected in the possibility of a second *bāzgašt* section, which might correspond to the later *naql-i dīgar* if syllabic and to the later *āwiza* if a verse setting. On the other hand, the possibility of a second *miyān* mentioned by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī is a feature for which the antecedent tradition provides no parallel. Interestingly, no such flexibility is shown by Binā'i. Writing at a time when one-line settings had become frequent, for him they appear to have provided the only model, for in his definition the *qawl* does not have even one *miyān*, being made up of two *sarhānas* - presumably the setting of H1 and its repeat for H2 - and a *bāzgū* (the form preferred by later theorists in place of *bāzgašt*). This summary account thus fails to take account of the structural norms of the longer examples.

Section correspondences are displayed in table 17. The changes in the terms used are evidently extensive, but not too much need be made of them: NO and G are not always internally consistent and, more importantly, table 7 (2.5.3.1) shows just as many differences between NO and the later S and Ox without indicating any fundamental structural developments. Here, too, the main nodes clearly correspond, and the similarities are strengthened when we recall that 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī defines the *miyān* as including the repeat of earlier material separately labelled in NO as *awwal*, while attention is also drawn to the possibility of inserting material, equivalent to the *tarannum* of NO, between the two parts. The major contrast between the two thus lies in the explicit recognition in NO of primarily syllable sections between the first two text sections and, optionally (albeit in the *qawl* occurring only infrequently),

'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī	NO
—	( <i>mustahall</i> )
<i>ṭarīqa-i jadwal</i>	<i>taqsīm</i>
—	<i>sarband</i> and/or <i>tarannum</i>
<i>ṭarīqa-i maṭla'</i>	<i>awwal</i>
<i>ṣawt (al-wasaf)/bayt al-wasaf/miyan</i>	<i>miyān</i>
—	( <i>tarannum</i> )
—	<i>awwal</i>
<i>tašyī' al-bāzgašt</i>	<i>bāzgašt</i>
( <i>ṭarīqa</i> )	<i>sarband/awwal</i>

Table 17

before the first. Although an embryonic stage in the development of such sections is recognized elsewhere by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī,<sup>9</sup> it is only with NO that they achieve independent status and are given separate labels, being distinguished according to position, internal consistency and function as *mustahall*, *sarband*, *tarannum* and *hung*, with the further specification of a subsequent extra syllable section as *naql-i dīgar*. That the emergence of a separate technical terminology in this context is not in itself a matter of vital importance is suggested not only by the failure of later theorists such as Binā'i to include any reference to it but also by the omission of many of these labels from S and Ox, despite the retention there of all the syllable material to which they relate; but irrespective of how (or whether) such material is described it is clear that the main formal development revealed by the antecedent anthologies (and ignored by the theorists) lies in the increasing importance of syllable and word material which, from being optional additions, have now become standard separate sections forming a significant proportion of the whole and resulting, therefore, in a diminution of the role of the verse as a determinant of the aesthetic impact of the whole.

#### 4.2.2. Other forms

For the other *nawba* movements 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's definitions are briefer, particularly so in the case of the *firādāšt*, which is simply described as similar to the *qawl*, and is again a setting of Arabic verse. The language of the *ḡazal* is Persian, while the *tarāna*, a setting of a *rubā'i*, may be in either language. Both

<sup>9</sup> In introducing the preceding notation (fols. 93b-94a) of a vocal composition he mentions the possibility of introducing amplificatory material (*alfūz-i arkān yā taḥrīrāt*) within or between words, or of adding after the completion of the verse *arkān-i iqā'*, exemplified by the syllables and syllable strings *tana*, *tan*, *tanān*, *tanānan*, *tān*, and *tanānanān*. Insertion may also consist of word elements, the examples given being *yā*, *ayā*, *wā*, *dōst*, *jān*, *ṣawqī*, *hāhā*, *āhī*, *ay kāy*, *maḥbūb*.

keep to the rhythmic cycle chosen for the *qawl*, which they also resemble in internal structure, and information is given on the point in the rhythmic cycle at which the song should commence. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's final remarks on the *nawba* concern, naturally, his own innovation, the *mustazād* fifth movement, and make it clear that this should incorporate material from the previous four, a particular innovation being the inclusion in the *tašyī'a* (*jbāzgašt*) of texts used in the other movements.

As the antecedent anthologies show, however, this fascinating structural concept, which goes far beyond the normal unities of mode, material and (for some movements at least) rhythmic cycle to make multiple connexions at the textual and motivic level, failed to establish itself. No *mustazād* is ascribed to any composer other than 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, and those that are recorded in NO/G (cf. the example transcribed in 2.3.1.2) show no trace of textual repetition from previous movements, suggesting, therefore, that the few examples to survive to the end of the fifteenth century had been assimilated to the standard pattern, thus destroying the original structural justification for the form and thereby rendering it an unnecessary (and clearly unwanted) addition to the canonic four movements.

On the structure of these Binā'i has little to say. The *ḡazal* is again differentiated from the *qawl* merely in respect of the language of the verse, while the only point made about the *tarāna* and *firūdāšt* is the evidently inherited and no longer valid stipulation that the former must set a *rubā'i* text. What is interesting, rather, in Binā'i's account is the order in which material is presented: *qawl* and *ḡazal* are listed in sixth and seventh position respectively in the total account of 17 forms, while the *nawba* only appears in twelfth place, being followed by individual entries at 13 and 14 for the other two movements. The dispersal of its constituent parts, puzzling and illogical when viewed solely in the light of the theoretical tradition, ceases to be problematic when considered in conjunction with the anthologies, and is evidently to be interpreted as a tacit recognition, if not of the decay of the *nawba* as a single entity, at least of the increasing independence of the *qawl* + *ḡazal* pair.<sup>10</sup> After the *firūdāšt* entry comes one for the *mustazād*, defined simply as an additional fifth movement created by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī. Nothing is said of its internal structure: of interest, rather, is that in this context Binā'i uses the generic term *kār* to refer to all the *nawba* movements.

In the *jāmi' al-alḥān* (fols. 97v-99v) 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī goes on to discuss a further nine forms: *basīṭ*, *ḡarbayn*, *kull al-ḡurūb*, *kull al-naḡam*, *našīd al-'arab*, *'amal*, *pēšraw*, *zaḥma* and *hawā'i*. The account in the *maqāšid al-alḥān* (pp. 104-7) is similar, but includes in addition a reference to *ṣawt* not as part of the *miyān* terminology but as an independent form. We thus have accounts of

<sup>10</sup> An account similar with regard to both distribution and contents is given by Kawkabī (Jung 1989: 153-4).

three of the forms occurring in the antecedent tradition, *'amal*, *pēšraw* and *šawt*, and they are described in terms that match reasonably closely the structures exhibited by the anthologies. In the brief mention of the *šawt* there is nothing to correspond to the alternating A B structure perceived in 2.3.2.8, but there is, at least, confirmation of the absence of a *müyān* or *bāzgašt*, the same melodic materials being used for each one of whatever number of verses is sung. The only other point made about this form (p. 107) is that it is the one with the most direct emotional appeal,<sup>11</sup> and were the *hawā'ī* not referred to later, one might readily assume that it was synonymous with *šawt*, for in the *jāmi' al-alhān* (fol. 99v) it is described in strikingly similar fashion.<sup>12</sup>

The *pēšraw* is described (fol. 99a) in terms which are also broadly valid for this form as it appears in Ox: it is, essentially, a song without a verse text consisting of a number of sections, *hāna*, the latter part of each being a refrain, *sarband* - further confirmation of the association of this term with repetition.<sup>13</sup> The only differences concern the number of sections and, possibly, the preferred rhythmic cycles. Whereas in Ox there are normally three sections, and occasionally four or five, for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāgī the minimum is two, and the normal range apparently three to seven; but there is no maximum, and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāgī claims to have composed himself one of no less than 42 *hānas*, a modal grand tour progressing through the twelve *šudūd*, six *āwāzes*, and 24 *šu'bas*. In Ox, again, only three *pēšraws* have a rhythmic cycle specified (two in *ḥafif* and one in *taqīl*), while for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāgī, even if no rhythmic cycle is excluded (and we will by now not be surprised to learn that he himself had composed *pēšraws* in all cycles), those preferred are *ramal* and *muḥammadas*. As he does not mention the possibility of the absence of a rhythmic cycle, it may be surmised, in the great majority of cases in Ox where no indication is given, not that there was no rhythmic cycle, but that just one standard cycle was employed, for if there were still two preferred cycles it might be expected that each piece would have its own one specified.

'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāgī's description of the *'amal* is also relevant to the form as exhibited in the antecedent anthologies. Just as no essential difference could be discerned there between the *'amal* and the other major forms such as the *qawl*, so too they are both fundamentally identical in structure for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāgī: the only significant difference is in fact textual, the language of the verse set being Persian, as against the Arabic of the *qawl*.<sup>14</sup> This contrast is

11 *wa-ān aqrab bāšad bi-qulūb al-nās.*

12 *wa-ān alaqqā wa-a'laq buwād bi-ḥabā'i-i ḥawāṣṣ wa-awānūm bi-sabab-i sur'at-i idrāk.*

13 The association persists in occasional modern appearances (e.g. in the *dār al-ḥān kulliyat* printing of the *saz sema'isi* in *suzidilara* by Sultan Selim III) but is strangely absent from 'Ali Ufci's notations, where *sarband* is occasionally used to designate not a ritornello but an extra final section in an instrumental piece.

14 However, if there is a second *bāzgašt*, it would be possible to include there a setting of either Persian or Arabic verse.

maintained in NO/G, and the evidence there provided, pointing to the basic structural sameness of nearly all forms, helps to explain what seems at first sight the rather curious emphasis attached by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī to defining the language and sometimes the technical specifications of the verse set: we may conclude that in most cases these were the main or, indeed, sometimes the only distinguishing characteristics.

#### 4.2.2.1. Subsequent developments

The notion of historical change is already present in the text of the *jāmi' al-alhān*, for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī considers the *'amal* to be a relatively new form contrasting with an older layer made up of the *nawba* and three other forms, *pēšraw*,<sup>15</sup> *baṣīṭ* and *našīd*. But a simple juxtaposition of the forms he describes with those present in NO/G would suggest that change was taking place at an accelerated rate during the fifteenth century, for apart from the *nawba* only two, *'amal* and *ṣawt*, seem to survive. The appearance is probably deceptive, however, and change may well have been far less radical. It is clear, for example, that the *pēšraw* of Ox is a direct descendant of that described by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, and its absence from NO/G must, accordingly, result from a deliberate policy of exclusion. It is possible, therefore, that other forms also could have survived without being recorded in the anthologies: if the *hawā'i*, for example, was perceived to be a popular form it might not have warranted inclusion in the repertoire of a court singer, or if it was partly improvised a fixed written form would have been pointless. The *našīd-i 'arab*, on the other hand, may well have become geographically restricted, surviving elsewhere but gradually being dropped in areas where Persian and Turkish were increasingly dominant. It is also evident that certain compositional procedures to which 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī assigns specific form labels survive in the antecedent tradition, but integrated within other forms and with different designations: to the modulation technique of the *kull al-naḡam* can be related both the *duwāzdah wa-šaš* mode sequence and the more extended modulations of the (*kullī*) *kulliyāt*,<sup>16</sup> which also allows the optional addition of sequences of rhythmic cycles reminiscent of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's *kull al-ḡurūb*.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, a review of the core formal vocabulary as displayed in table 18 suggests that continuity from the fifteenth to

<sup>15</sup> But according to Ibn Faḡlallāh al-'Umari (d. 1349), the *pēšraw* is the invention of al-Kamāl al-Tawrizi (on whom see Neubauer 1969: 237, 248), a contemporary of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī (*masālik al-aṣṣār fī mamālik al-aṣṣār*, Süleymaniye MS Ayasofya 3423, book 10, p. 329).

<sup>16</sup> Although not, perhaps, the systematic modulation to include all the pitches of the gamut: this particular technique may have become obsolete.

<sup>17</sup> The name of another of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's forms, *ḡarbayn*, resurfaces in the seventeenth century, but there is no direct link: for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī this is a form in which two rhythmic cycles are performed simultaneously, while the later term denotes not a form but compound rhythmic cycles resulting not from superimposition but from the juxtaposition of two cycles.

1400 (‘Abd al-Qādir)	1440 (al-Širwānī)	1480 (Binā’i)	1480 (NO)	1550 (S, Ox)	1650 (HP, ‘Alī Ufki)
<i>qawl</i>	→	→	→	→ //	
<i>gazal</i>	→	→	→	→ //	
<i>tarāna</i>	→	→	→	...> //	
<i>firūdāšt</i>	→	→	→	...> //	
<i>mustazād</i>	→	→	...> //		
<i>basīṭ</i>	→	→ //			
<i>našīd-i ‘arab</i>	→	→ //			
<i>pēšraw</i>	→	→		→ //	(peşrev)
<i>‘amal</i>	→	→	→		...> <i>kār</i>
<i>ḡarbayn</i>	→ <i>ḡarb</i> //				
<i>kull al-ḡurūb</i>	↓ →	→ //			
<i>kull al-naḡam</i>	↓ →	→ //			
	<i>kull al-ḡurūb</i> → <i>kulliyāt</i> <i>wa-l-naḡam</i>	→ //			(( <i>küllī</i> ) <i>külliyāt</i> )
<i>zaḡma</i>	→ //				
<i>şawt</i>	→	→	→	→	→ <i>şawt</i> <i>şawt al-‘amal</i> //
<i>hawā’i</i>	→ //				
	<i>naqş</i>	→		→ <i>naḡş</i>	→ <i>naḡş</i>
	<i>muraşşa’</i>	→ <i>qawl-i m.</i>	→		→ <i>kār-i m.</i>
		<i>riḡta</i> <sup>18</sup> //			
			ḡār <i>ḡarb</i> <sup>19</sup> //		
					<i>şarkı</i> <i>murabba’</i> <i>semā’i</i>

Excluded are the generic and/or infrequent terms *qit’a*, *taşnif* and *dā’ira*; and the popular and devotional forms included by ‘Alī Ufki. ...> indicates a possible continuity<sup>20</sup> (if under another name); ...> a vestigial survival. The bracketed entries under 1650 show a surviving term which now denotes an instrumental rather than, as before, a vocal form.

Table 18

<sup>18</sup> Kawkabī (Jung 1989: 153) indicates that *hindi* verse could also be set in this form.

<sup>19</sup> Also in Kawkabī (who adds *fāḡta ḡarb* and *ḡarb al-fāḡ* as forms, i.e., rhythm-form equivalences).

<sup>20</sup> The connexion depends straightforwardly on the synonymy of *‘amal* and *kār*. But matters are complicated by the fact that in one early seventeenth-century text (that of Darwīz ‘Alī-yī Čangī, see Jung 1989: 155) both appear, and are distinguished (although the definition of the *kār* does not correspond to the form as exhibited in the Ottoman tradition).

sixteenth centuries, despite the decay and eventual extinction of the *nawba*, was still probably greater than that between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Binā'ī refers, however, as noted above, to the *nawba* movements as *kār* and it may be, therefore, that in seventeenth-century usage this term should be regarded less as a possibly direct descendant of its synonym, '*amal*', than as a generic designation of any relatively long and formally complex piece. If so, it would follow that with the disappearance not only of the four *nawba* movements but also of the '*amal*' as well as *čār qarb* as individual entities, the *naqš* remains as the one direct survivor of more than marginal significance from the earlier range of forms.

Al-Širwānī defines the *naqš* as being similar to the *maṭla'* (first section) of an '*amal*', being devoid of *šawt al-wasaṭ* (= *mīyān*) and *tašyī'a* (= *bāzgašt*),<sup>21</sup> thus suggesting something akin to the *šawt*. The similarity is recognized by Binā'ī, who distinguishes them, in fact, not in terms of form but of style or character.<sup>22</sup> Theoretical texts may also distinguish as a separate category the *murašša'* (al-Širwānī), defined as formally free, and characterized by the inclusion of settings of verse in both Arabic and Persian, and sometimes also in Turkish, or *qawī-i murašša'* (Binā'ī), defined as including both Arabic and Persian verse. With these definitions the song-text collections broadly agree, but they contain no example in which Turkish verse appears, nor does the form appear any freer or less free than that of other *qawls*.

Definitions of forms may also include information on preferred or obligatory rhythmic cycles, an aspect investigated in 3.6 in relation to HP but generally ignored, because of the incomplete nature of the data, in relation to the antecedent anthologies. As far as the *nawba* is concerned, reference has been made in 4.2 to there being five cycles in favour at the end of the fourteenth century, and as the form declined one might expect either increasing indifference to traditional norms, thus producing greater freedom, or a shrinking repertoire becoming ever more limited in its resources as previous possibilities are gradually shed. What evidence we have suggests that development took place in the latter direction: al-Širwānī mentions just three cycles in relation to the *tarāna*,<sup>23</sup> and the process of reduction is carried even further in Ox and S, where *nawba* movements, whether together or separate, are associated with just one cycle, *taqīl*. Preferred or obligatory cycles are also specified by al-Širwānī in relation to the '*amal*',<sup>24</sup> and the identity of the cycles in question (*ramal*, *muḥam-*

<sup>21</sup> D'Erlanger 4: 244; British Library MS Or. 2361, fol. 217a (where the form is called *naqīš*, clearly a scribal error).

<sup>22</sup> The *naqš*, he says, unlike the *šawt*, is marked by a certain delicacy of expression (*muṭadammīn-i i'tibārī laṭīf-ast bi-hilāf-i šawt*). But whatever gloss is put upon the phrase, the contrast between the two is evidently nothing to do with structure. Kawkabī, however, does include a formal criterion (Jung 1989: 153): unlike the *naqš*, the *šawt* begins directly with the setting of the verse.

<sup>23</sup> D'Erlanger 4: 236; British Library MS Or. 2361, fol. 215b.

<sup>24</sup> D'Erlanger 4: 244; British Library MS Or. 2361, fol. 217a.



*mas* and *hazaj*) indicates that this form was likely to have been somewhat lighter in character than the *nawba*. (The fact that they are mentioned at all confirms, incidentally, that '*amal*' denotes a form; but at the same time al-Širwānī's failure to list '*amal*' as one of the preferred cycles runs counter to the previous assumption of a close relationship between form and cycle.) Kawkabī follows al-Širwānī in citing three preferred cycles for the *tarāna*, but for the '*amal*' he lists six (*ramal*, *muḥammad*, *turkī ḍarb*, *hazaj*, *duyak* and *awfar*), although he then, interestingly, adds the further qualification that pieces using the last three of these were termed *ṣawt al-'amal*.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, none of the pieces with this heading in Ox and S has a rhythmic cycle specified,<sup>26</sup> and the conflicting evidence of their formal structure makes it difficult to determine whether in practice we are dealing with a subform of the '*amal*' or, as numerical predominance would suggest as more likely, of the very different *ṣawt*.

#### 4.3.1. An 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī piece notated by its composer

The decline of the *nawba* has already been sufficiently documented, but comparisons of particular examples from NO and the *jāmi' al-alḥān* are still of value, for having described (fol. 96) his feat of composing thirty *nawbas* in the month of Ramadan 778/1377,<sup>27</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī goes on to provide (fols. 96b-97a) the verse texts of the one composed on the first day, and the form in which this work had survived a century later is recorded in NO (103a-104b). The differences are considerable. Where the *qawl* and *tarāna* each originally set two lines of verse just one remains; indeed, the only verse to survive unscathed is the single line of the *firūdāš*: the *ḡazal* has a totally new text and is, presumably, a quite different piece, while for the *mustazād* there is no piece at all, nor even its verse, just the form heading followed by a blank. The original had evidently fallen by the wayside. (In this instance the loss is particularly unfortunate because of the details 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī gives of the complex modulation scheme incorporated into the piece: it would have been interesting to see how much might have been retained.) From the rejection or retention of individual movements no significant lessons can be drawn, and it is possible that the loss of material in the *qawl* could be a simple accident of transmission. But for the equivalent loss in the *tarāna* other explanations might be sought, for the case is by no means exceptional: it may be recalled that for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī the *tarāna* is a setting of a *rubā'ī*, a two-line verse form, whereas in NO/G the majority of examples have only a single line. Such a systematic shift, for which a parallel may be seen in the probable reduction in the average number of *ḡānas* in the *pēšraw* form, would certainly be consonant with a

<sup>25</sup> Jung 1989: 153.

<sup>26</sup> Of the three *ṣawt* compositions in HP two are in *devr-i revān*, the third in *evser*.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Širwānī, *majalla* 2, fol. 215b oddly gives a different date, *ša'bān* 781/1379.

gradual process of melodic elaboration involving the addition of a great number of prolongation syllables and resulting in the growth of pieces to a point where a compensatory reduction of material was necessary - the suppression of part of the verse text in one case, the reduction in the number of sections in the other. In addition to the truncation of the verse in the specific case of the *tarāna*, a development of this nature would also help to account for the quite considerably lower average number of verses in the pieces recorded in NO as compared with those included by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi.<sup>28</sup>

Evidence to support such a conclusion is not, however, to be sought in theoretical treatises, where such matters as form and text setting rarely receive due attention. Rather, recourse would need to be had to the history, should it ever become available, of individual songs. One possible candidate may be identified in a piece recorded by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi himself: the most substantial of the three examples of notation in the *jāmi' al-alḥān* (fols. 93b-95a), it is a vocal composition into the notation of which a formal analysis is integrated or, perhaps more accurately, a song the formal analysis of which includes a certain amount of notation. This should not be considered, therefore, a straightforward prescriptive notation on which a performance could be based, still less a detailed descriptive account, but rather an adjunct to theoretical exposition.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the notation varies in certain respects from manuscript to manuscript, and as it would be inappropriate to attempt here a critical transcription<sup>30</sup> the melodic outline will for the most part be described in general terms: attention will be devoted primarily to the author's own formal analysis, which is constant in all versions, and to the nature of the verse, word, and syllable setting. The piece is not, unfortunately, assigned to any particular category but is simply termed a composition (*taṣnīf*) in the mode *ḥusaynī*<sup>31</sup> and the rhythmic cycle *ramal*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *maqāṣid al-alḥān*: 143-8. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi also fails to include any word or syllable elements. Syllable sections make an appearance - but are abbreviated, so that their true length is impossible to determine - in the song-texts included by his grandson Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz at the end of his *muḥtaṣar dar 'ilm al-mūsīqī* (Nuruosmaniye MS 3649, fols. 44a-47a), although the number of verses set is still extremely high.

<sup>29</sup> As is made clear in the following comment (fol. 95a), this composition is provided *barāya tamṭil wa-ta'lim wa-taḥṣīm wa-tawḥīd*, that is, 'for exemplification, information, instruction and clarification': the expository, didactic tone could hardly be more emphatic.

<sup>30</sup> Despite its evident historical importance, no full account of this piece has yet appeared, although various segments of it have been transcribed in Kiesewetter 1842, Land 1886 and Rauf Yekta Bey 1922. In certain sections the versions provided by the available manuscripts exhibit quite marked differences in melodic outline. The version appealed to here will be that in Bodleian Library MS Marsh 282.

<sup>31</sup> Equating the lowest pitch symbol *alif* with the modern *yegāh*, conventionally notated as *d* above middle *c*, but written here as *D* above *C*, the notes occurring in this mode are *D E F G A* *B* *c d*, with the most characteristic segment being the *G - d* pentachord.

<sup>32</sup> Of twelve units, defined as *tan tan tananan tananan*, i.e. 2 + 2 + 4 + 4 or, alternatively (al-Širwānī, *majalla* 2, British Library MS Or. 2361, fol. 210a), *tan tan tan tananan*, i.e. 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 4.

'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī first gives two lines of (Arabic) verse which, incidentally (and fancifully), are claimed to have been recited to Muḥammad. The notation proper curiously begins with a third, preceding, line of verse, introduced by the heading *ṣarīqa-i jadwal*, the setting for which consists of two simple stepwise descending phrases, one for each hemistich, the first from *d* to *A'*, the second from *c* to *G*. The following line of verse (that is, the first of the pair originally quoted) is then entered and said to be set to the same melody: the technical term associated with it is *ṣarīqa-i maṭla'*. This is followed immediately by the *miyān*, the notation for which is at first sight rather puzzling, for while the whole third line (the second of the original pair) is written out, the only notes added beneath are two (*d* and *c*) for H5, with none being assigned to H6. A short syllable section follows which has no technical designation and has the appearance of being no more than an insert or transition, perhaps to be regarded as an example of the *nuqūṣ* which may be inserted in the *miyān* (4.2.1); but at the same time it is the one element providing contrast and, therefore, may have been a characteristic, essential feature. In it the melody again consists essentially of two stepwise descending phrases covering the core *d - G* pentachord of *ḥusaynī*. There follows a return to the melodic material for H2, labelled 'repeat of the *ṣarīqa-i jadwal*', the notation being associated with H6. This constitutes the completion of the *miyān* and can, therefore, be interpreted as indicating that the writing out of H6 at the beginning was part of the verse heading for the whole section, and did not imply an incompletely recorded initial setting of the whole line. A slightly longer syllable section follows, the *taṣyī'a/bāzgašt*. The melody is this time a rising-falling curve, a stepwise ascent from *d* to *g* being followed by a descent to *G*. A further repeat of the melodic material of H2 is now indicated, but the verse to be sung is not specified, although we may reasonably presume it to have been H6 again.

Thus far the form of this piece corresponds closely to that described by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī for the *qawl*. However, it may be observed that if the two-note melodic indication for the setting of H5 is complete we may conclude that, at least in this case, the repetition of the initial melodic material mentioned as a possible beginning for the *miyān* could in fact cover the whole hemistich, leaving the following syllable insert to provide all the melodic variation. There is, further, the question of relative section length: the *miyān* here has only one line, not the two that would be expected if the norms of the *qawl* description were adhered to rigidly.

Analogy with the structures in NO/G would suggest that the piece could well have stopped at this point, but it turns out to be similar to the longer *dwiza* settings, for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī goes on to add two further lines of Persian verse, interestingly enough an approximate translation or adaptation of the second and third lines of the Arabic. This section is introduced as *mustazād*, the term here having nothing to do with the fifth movement of the *nawba*, but

merely sharing with it the basic lexical meaning, 'extra'. In this context it is probably not a technical term at all, even though in effect equivalent to *āwīza* in NO. The setting is written out in rather greater detail than for the preceding sections, and is through-composed, with none of the repetitions characteristic of the setting of the main text. It also exhibits a degree of amplification, including a few prolongation syllables. In the following transcription no attempt has been made to reconcile the duration values with the structure of the rhythmic cycle, and the double bars mark the division of the verse into hemistiches:

$1 = \text{♩}$

zi dí-mā - r-i ha'a - wā'a'a bar jī'i - ga'a - ri - 'i

gām - ná - 'a'akam sūdī na - ku - na - 'ad

fū - sūn gar - i ẓā - lā - kam ān yār ki

'ā - 3īq-i jarnā - laš ẓu - da am

ham nazd-i ʾlst ruq - - ya wa'a ʾl - yākam

### Example 11

There is then a final recall of the melodic material for H2, but this time explicitly associated with the text of H6.

The broad formal structure so provided can readily be brought into alignment with a section lay-out typical of longer *āwīza* settings in NO, as shown in table 19. But such apparent congruence conceals a number of important divergences. With regard to the relationship between verse and melody, it may be noted as especially significant that the initial unit for 'Abd al-Qādir al-

'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī		NO
<i>ṭarīqa-i jadwal</i>	H1, H2	<i>taqsim</i>
<i>ṭarīqa-i maṭla'</i>	H3, H4	<i>awwal</i>
<i>bayt al-wasaf/miyan</i>	H5	<i>miyan</i>
	syllable	( <i>tarannum</i> )
<i>ṭarīqa-i jadwal</i>	?H6	<i>awwal</i>
<i>tašyī' al-bāzgašt</i>	syllable	<i>bāzgašt</i>
<i>mustazād</i>	H7-H10	<i>āwiza</i>
<i>ṭarīqa-i jadwal</i>	H6	<i>awwal</i>

Table 19

Marāḡī is the whole line, not the hemistich as in NO, and that the setting of the first line is entirely devoid of the prolongation syllables so characteristic of the latter, which suggest, rather than the bald declamatory melodic line sequentially spanning (and linking) the two hemistiches given by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, a possibly more florid style extending and fragmenting the text of a single hemistich, and then repeating the whole with the text of the next hemistich. Settings of *āwiza* verses in NO/G are in contrast much more compressed, and although it has been assumed that the melodic material for the first hemistich was again repeated for the others, the evidence for this is not always conclusive, so that the possible survival of a style of through-composed setting as exhibited by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī cannot be discounted.

That there is a further major divergence between the two is evident from a consideration of the syllable sections. In 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's notation these consist of a brief (16-syllable) *tarannum*-like passage within the *miyan*, and a *bāzgašt*, also of modest proportions (37 syllables). Immediately striking about these two sections is that, apart from the exclamatory particles *ā* and *hā* in the former, they are, like the verse sections, devoid of word elements: no *mīr-i man* or *jān-i man* here. Since word insertions are recognized by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, we are faced by the possibilities either that this piece simply happened not to contain any; or that their inclusion was an aleatoric feature (provided obviously that they were introduced only at conventionally agreed points in the structure) controlled by the performer, and consequently not one that would appropriately figure in the score of the original composition; or that the notation is a sketch with no pretensions to completeness or accuracy of detail, and that word elements existed, but were deemed sufficiently marginal or irrelevant to the analytical context to be omitted. Pieces without word elements are not unknown in NO/G, even if very rare; but from the two other possibilities it would follow that sixteenth-century norms were quite different, for word elements had by then evidently become important enough to require recording in as precise a

form as any other part of the piece: it would be difficult to imagine them being excluded from any notation, even one only serving to illustrate a formal analysis.

Different also is the phonetic range employed by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī in the two syllable sections. Apart from *ā* and *hā*, the shorter passage employs only *tā* and *nā*, while to these the longer *bāzgašt* adds no more than the related *ta*, *na*, and *nan*: completely absent are the syllables so characteristic of comparable passages in NO/G that employ the consonants /d r l/. But perhaps more significant than the relative parsimony of the syllable repertoire is the difference in the balance between verse and syllable material as shown, for example, by the number of syllable sections. This may be demonstrated by comparison with the lay-out of NO: 47a, which contains exactly the same distribution, three verses followed by two additional ones in the *āwiza*, but has, in addition to the normal *bāzgašt* and a *tarannum* after the *miyān*, exactly as in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's piece, a further *tarannum* after H2 (possibly repeated after H4) which reappears after H6, and a *sarband* after the *bāzgašt*.

In the absence of any notation contemporary with NO only tentative conclusions can be drawn from such juxtapositions of markedly different types of evidence. Nevertheless, even with the due reserve that the possibly skeletal nature of the melodic line provided by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī cannot fail to elicit, it is difficult to resist the impression that the kind of detail provided by NO/G, and in particular the sheer extent of both the prolongation and the general syllable material, argues for the development of a somewhat more complex melodic style and a considerable distension of each section. Further, the additional and more explicit evidence of the greater number (and length) of the syllable sections in NO/G would confirm a shift, implicit in the above conclusion, from a style of setting in which a possibly fairly routine use of brief modal formulae allowed attention to be focused on the verse, to one in which aesthetic primacy is accorded to complex musical structures within which the verse tends both to be subjected to considerable melodic pressures at its semantically weakest points and to be surrounded by, and almost on occasion submerged within, semantically void syllable material.

Confidence in such an interpretation is heightened by its conformity with the conclusions drawn in 4.2.2.1 from the reduction in the average number of verses set that appears to have taken place during the fifteenth century. It would also accord better with the presumption of a style of setting veering towards the melodically simple rather than complex (at least in its pitch organization) that inheres in the plausibility of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's account of his being able to take on a wager requiring him to compose one complete *nawba* a day for a month. Nevertheless, it should not be accepted uncritically, for while the contrast between what is implied by the songs as recorded in NO/G and the notation of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī is evident, the resulting notion of a

straightforward developmental trajectory in styles of setting from plain to ornate is called into question not merely by the problematic status of the evidence the latter provides but, more crucially, by the complex melodic style of the composition by Šafī al-Dīn notated a century before by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī.<sup>33</sup> This indicates, for example, that the evolution of syllable material cannot have been a simple linear progression from the rather restricted melodic articulation of a narrow range of syllables exhibited by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's piece to what would seem in NO/G to be a more elaborate style of setting of a certainly richer repertoire of syllables formalized into a greater number of separate sections, for we encounter already in this thirteenth-century composition a lengthy syllable passage, incorporating complex modulations, which uses a significantly wider range of syllables than that found in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī: in addition to *ta*, *tā*, *na*, *nā* and *tān* we find *li*, *la*, *lā*, *ri*, *ra*, *dī* and *dīr*, all typical of the range in NO/G.

Just as significant are the contrasts in the verse setting. Thus whereas 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī provides a setting of the first line with a meagre seven changes of pitch in all, the equivalent passage as notated by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī contains no fewer than 84, and includes melismas far more extended, indeed, than any the strings of prolongation syllables in NO/G might suggest. This may not be the only difference to be detected between the Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī notation and NO/G: in the former, for example, we find that melodic elaboration is concentrated above all on a single syllable which varies from hemistich to hemistich in being semantic or grammatical, stressed or unstressed. Nevertheless, the dominant impression is of a possible broad continuity between the two in style of setting and compositional aesthetic, and against such a background the intermediate notation by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī appears distinctly anomalous. The contrast provided by the sample of notation in Binā'i's *risāla*<sup>34</sup> is perhaps less extreme, but with a predominantly syllabic style of setting yielding 28 pitch changes in a line of 28 syllables it is still at a very considerable remove from the melodic style of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī's notation, which yields for the setting of the first line an average of nearly four pitch changes per syllable.

The most sensible reaction to all this would be to question whether the evidence we have to hand is really adequate for any safe conclusions to be drawn. It is quite likely that what is notated by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī for the first line of verse is less a personal composition recorded in detail than the application of a standard and deliberately elementary formula (so that the piece as a whole is hardly 'by' 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī at all, his own contributions being restricted to the *miyān* and *bāzgašt* sections). But the question here is less to do with speculating about the identity (or concept) of the composer than with the

<sup>33</sup> See Wright 1978: 233-44 (transcription), 255-69 (commentary).

<sup>34</sup> p. 124.

relationship between notation and performance. If we assume that the notation of the verse sections is a deliberately bare outline, showing no more than the basic direction of melodic movement and omitting a considerable amount of composed (however formulaic) elaboration, it would follow that the continuity of style posited above might embrace this piece too. But if, on the other hand, we take 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi's notation at face value - and certainly the detail of the syllable sections may be thought to correspond fairly closely to performance realization - then either what is indicated for the setting of the verse sections reflects a relationship between performance and composition radically different from that discernible in NO/G, the singer being allowed, indeed expected, to embellish freely a simple pre-composed outline,<sup>35</sup> whereas in NO/G whatever embellishments there were have largely become standardized and frozen to the extent that they are now worth incorporating within the recorded text; or it approximates to what was actually sung, in which case we would be confronted with a style of setting quite remote, in its stark simplicity, both from the ornateness of Šafī al-Dīn before and what is hinted at by the extensive prolongations of NO/G after. Given a time scale of some two hundred years such wide fluctuations cannot be dismissed as impossible but must, nevertheless, be considered unlikely. That being so, it is prudent to suppose that the gap between what 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi wrote and what was actually sung may have been quite wide, and consequently that the notes on the page conceal as much as they reveal. But even if it is argued, given the opacity of the evidence, that there are insufficient grounds for concluding that the standard technique of verse setting a century before the compilation of NO/G could have been radically different, it is still clear that the maintenance of an inherited formal framework has not prevented internal developments marked by a significant shift in the balance between verse sections and word and syllable sections.

#### 4.3.2. An 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi piece recorded in NO

In illustration we may cite NO: 107a, which consists ostensibly of a setting of the first two verses occurring in the 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi composition discussed above. Given the numerous settings, analysed in 2.4, of the line beginning *ahwāk*, this by itself would hardly attract attention, but interest is quickened by the fact that not only is it in the same mode, *ḡusaynī*, but that it is

<sup>35</sup> Possibly through the addition of what 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi calls *taḡrīdī*. These are stated (fol. 94a) not to be word inserts, but to result from 'a movement in the throat ancillary to the production of notes' (*bi-ḡalq ḡarakat kunand bi-jihāt-i ḡudūt-i naḡandī*). But this definition could fit particular features of vocal technique as well as the production of prolongation syllables. In any case, significant in the present context is the following remark to the effect that the durational values given allow for such additions, in other words that the pre-composed relationship between melody or melodic outline and rhythmic cycle (even if imperfectly notated) must be maintained.



also attributed to Ḥwāja, by which term 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī is often, although not necessarily always, to be understood. Such congruence is difficult to account for by sheer coincidence, and we may therefore consider the NO setting to have, *a priori*, a fair claim to represent the form in which 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's piece was known approximately a century after its original composition. That it lacks the *āwīza*-like extra verses is not of itself significant, for if the trend was towards embellishment and prolongation, compensatory loss of material would be a natural consequence. (It may be added that it is in this area that the various manuscripts of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's notation are least consistent.) The state of the main text, however, is decidedly odd: not only is the third line omitted but the second has also in effect been discarded, for although given at the head of the piece, it is nowhere mentioned in the setting itself. This has the normal contour of a single-line setting, lacking therefore a *miyān*, and not even being followed by a blank space which would suggest the existence of as yet unlocated further material. Corresponding, therefore, only to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's setting of the first line and *bāzgašt*, NO: 107a is as follows:

## taqṣīm

*k<sup>h</sup>hukkū hukkū: kullu sū:bḥin wa kukkū hukkū kukuḥlu ikišrāhākkāhāk-  
kāhākāqāqī{ 'i' i' } ki { ha' ā } hā{ 'a' } jā' ā: kām hā: 'ārikkī kī jā' akānimākan hay hay  
hay hay mi' i' { 'i' 'ā' }<sup>1</sup> mākan āhā āha rikī wā' ā: 'a dost jā{ 'a' a' } nam a{ 'a' a' a' } ākāh  
ha' ā: ha' ā: hī: ha' ā: i: kī ahahah ahhay: mīkīr<sup>1</sup> mā' a an ārikkī jākānimān dost  
wā' ā: 'a ā' ā: h mīkīr<sup>1</sup> mā' a akan hay hay hay hay: jā: kānimākan*

## awwal

abkī 'alaykum

## bāzgašt

*til lillir tan: tan: tīnā kākātān: tīnākkātānah dīrdīr ā' ā' ayyār  
til lillir tan: tan: tīnā kākātān: tīnākkātānah dīrdīr nā' akay  
til lillilā: nah til lillilānah dīrnay tan: dīrtannātānah dīrdīr ā' āyayār  
til lillilā: nah til lillilānah dīrnay tan dīrtannātānah dīrdīr nā: kay*

## awwal

abkī 'alaykum bi-dam'ī

Unfortunately, the two versions seem to have nothing in common. The first, obvious, point of difference is that whereas for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī the melodic unit is the line, here it is the hemistich: for the two pieces to be related, therefore, it would have to be assumed that, say, the sequential relationship between the two hemistiches in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's setting had been

abandoned in favour of one of identity. Given the nature of the evidence, in comparing the settings of the first hemistich the only possible correlation would be between the duration of the various pitches in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's notation and the number of syllables (in such a crude comparison nothing is to be gained by distinguishing short, long and extra-long syllables) generated by the equivalent stretch of text in NO. We thus have:

	'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī time units	NO syllables
<i>kullu ṣubḥin</i>	6	9
<i>wa-kullu iṣ-</i>	6	10
<i>rā-</i>	6	8
<i>qī</i>	8	4

For much of the hemistich the relationship is thus quite constant, which would accord with the hypothesis of derivation, but at the end there is a marked divergence. To account for this it might be supposed, since the total number of time units given by the notation is not a multiple of the number in the rhythmic cycle, that there was a gap between H1 and H2 into which word elements could be inserted, and that these eventually encroached on the space originally occupied by the last syllable. But the sequence of word elements in NO (and it should be noted that none are given by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī) is so lengthy (*hā jān hāri jān-i man hay mīr-i man ā hāri wā dōst jānam ahā ahay mīr-i man āri jān-i man dōst wā mīr-i man hay jān-i man*, with repetition and internal amplification) that it must have extended over far more than part of one rhythmic cycle, and it should consequently be seen as something essentially quite different from whatever might have appeared in the same position in the original. Similarly with the *bāzgašt*, which in NO is over twice as long and, apart from the isolated syllable *tan*, contains nothing that could be construed as a development or continuation of material in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī. If the NO piece does represent the form assumed by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's composition over a century later, it has been transformed out of all recognition, with much of the material lost, and what remains so extended and altered that no trace of the original can be detected. Thus, while it cannot be proved that the two pieces are not related, the lack of a single demonstrable common element means that it would be reasonable to conclude, after all, that they are more likely to be completely independent and separate pieces, the only argument for a historical connexion between them remaining the unlikely coincidence of identity not only of verse but of mode and putative composer as well. We are therefore left, unfortunately, no wiser than before.

## 4.4. Compositions in HP attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī

Apparent from table 18 is a radical discontinuity in the vocal forms used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apart from the marginal *şavt* the only obvious survivor is the *naḡş/naḡış* and, as noted above, the Turkish-language songs in this form recorded in Ox fail to survive into HP. Discontinuity in the repertoire thus appears not merely radical but total. The *kār* may correspond, directly or indirectly, to some of the other earlier forms, but none of the pieces in the antecedent anthologies can be identified in HP, so that there are no earlier versions that can be compared with the many examples of this form in HP attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī. Any consideration of the mid-seventeenth-century 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī corpus should be based on the premise that these are pieces which had by then achieved the status of 'classics', deserving therefore to be attributed to a venerable figure of authority whose authorship would confirm their worth, but which in purely chronological terms were unlikely to be older than the century itself: that among them might be found survivals from the antecedent tradition is most unlikely. No *kār* having been recorded by 'Alī Ufkī, the nature of this form in the seventeenth century cannot be explored beyond the examination of internal structure carried out in 3.3.2: the absence of any example in notated form is particularly regrettable, not only because it would have been interesting to see if there were any objective correlative to the attribution of these pieces to ancient composers, a particular bias in melodic style, say, but also because among them are several which survive into the modern repertoire.

Such continuity suggests a degree of stability, and it is this aspect which will be considered here, through an examination of the variant forms recorded by HP and Cantemir, and the stability or otherwise of the several versions of one piece to be found in different song-text collections from HP on and more recently in notation. Differences between HP and Cantemir in structural analysis have already been alluded to in 3.3.2. In so far as these exhibit nothing more than terminological variation or, rather more interestingly, differing perceptions of how segments should be classified, they have no implications for the form of the piece as realized in performance, but when the disagreement involves, say, the question of whether or not a particular composition contains a *zeyil* section, matters of substance arise. Broadly, they concern both the extent (and order) of material, and its consistency. To take the latter first, we find, for example, that in the *kār* entitled *nūr-i ḥüdā* the initial syllable section is virtually the same in both versions, but that the word sequence separating H1 and H2 is, according to Cantemir, quite different from that quoted in 3.3.2 from HP:

HP: *hey hey ahā ahā hey yār belī yār-i man*

C: *canım hey hey hey hey cānım yā imām-i zamān dōst dōst dōst hey*

HP: *hey hey ā çī sâzam belī yār-i man*

C: *mîrim şâh-i man mâh-i man hey hey hey âh ḥabibî belī yār-i man*

The end is almost the same, and some resemblance can also be seen at the beginning, but otherwise the two have little in common. Such an obvious contrast is, admittedly, exceptional, but in other *kârs*, too, there are instances of less than total unanimity, as in the following syllable section that diverges in the middle:<sup>36</sup>

HP: *dir tenā dered*  
*ten ten dir dir ten*      *ten te(n)ne nen nen nā*  
 C: *düm dere lā dir dir*

and it is quite common to find slight differences in the number of syllables in a given section; there are even occasional discrepancies in the poetic text. Also exceptional is the inclusion, mentioned in 3.3.2, of a section in one version that the other omits. Further, while the order of events is stable, there may be repetitions of blocks of material marked only in Cantemir's version. For this the most probable explanation is that such indications, given by Cantemir in the course of a formal analysis in which it would be natural to specify everything, were simply unnecessary for Hâfiz Post, who would have been able to provide whatever repetitions were needed without having to remind himself. But for the other and more substantial instances of disagreement a number of interpretations might be possible. It could even be argued that in some cases Cantemir's versions are simply less accurate: it is certainly reasonable to suppose that as an instrumentalist he was less knowledgeable about the vocal repertoire than Hâfiz Post, and that although he may have been sufficiently familiar with these *kârs* to be able to accompany them adequately, he might not have memorized every detail of the verbal structure.<sup>37</sup> But such an explanation would only account for relatively minor differences akin to those in the second passage quoted above: the first provokes, rather, the conclusion either that the two represent different lines of transmission or, however close in time they may be, that they present us with separate stages in the development of the piece.

<sup>36</sup> The beginning of a *kâr* by Koca 'Osmân in the *makâm* 'uzgâk and the rhythmic cycle *ḥafif*.

<sup>37</sup> The suggestion of Cantemir's possible fallibility in this area should not be construed as in any way implying assent to the extraordinary accusation of notational incompetence levelled at him by Ezgi and Arel (Ezgi 4: 199).

## 4.4.1. Documentary history

Although there is little to choose between these two possibilities, examination of the documentary record of two representative *kârs* might suggest that the former is the more likely, since if a substantial segment could be replaced from one generation to the next it might well be supposed that over two centuries the text of a piece could be gradually transformed out of all recognition, whereas in the *kârs* in question - one in *râst* (HP: 3b), now known as *kâr-i muhteşem*, the other in *segâh* (HP: 136b), with the title *şey âğâze* - this is far from being the case. On the contrary, they exhibit in certain respects a considerable degree of stability at the textual level.

We may begin by considering, briefly, *şey âğâze*, the first entry in the *segâh* section, written in Hâfiz Post's own hand. This is, incidentally, of interest for being one of the very few pieces in HP for which a modulation sequence is indicated, in this instance the traditional 'six' element of the previous 'twelve and six' complex: the names of the six *âwâzes* are included within the post-*miyân* syllable section equivalent to the *bâzgaşt*, the normal location for such modulation sequences in the antecedent tradition. The seemingly illogical title of the piece (meaning 'six song-beginnings') presumably refers to this sequence, *âğâze* also providing a punning pre-echo of *âwâz* (literally 'voice, note, melody'); indeed, it is tempting to consider the possibility that the title may originally have been *şey âvâz* ('the six *âwâzes*'), the subsequent obsolescence of the term *âwâz*, if not necessitating, at least facilitating a substitution.

In the body of the piece the level of textual change in the modern printed version<sup>38</sup> is quite low. The opening syllable sequence is virtually identical, as is the first verse section. A quite striking departure is the replacement in the second syllable sequence of the final segment by an extra verse fragment, but the remaining verse (*bend-i gâni* in HP, *miyân* in the modern version) and syllable sections again show few differences. What the notated form does contain, however, is a number of repetitions for which there is no indication in HP: the first half of the initial syllable section is repeated, for example, but more significant is the recurrence of the second segment of the initial verse with new melodic material, and the same phenomenon recurs within the second section. The following repeat of a considerable amount of earlier material is almost certainly not an innovation, but the other unpredictable repeats suggest that the preservation of textual integrity in the transmission of a piece is not necessarily a guarantee of formal (and melodic) fidelity.

The textual transmission of *kâr-i muhteşem* may be examined in rather more detail, and the display in fig. 31 of the syllable material preceding the verse setting is drawn, in addition to HP (the entry this time being in a later hand),

<sup>38</sup> *dâr ül-ahân kulliyatı*, nos. 87-88.

from five eighteenth-century manuscripts (arranged in approximate chronological order),<sup>39</sup> the mid-nineteenth-century lithographed *mecmua* of Haşim Bey, and a modern notation. No particular importance attaches to the omission of the repeat of the first block in two sources: the material could have been lost, it is true, but equally the performer could have supplied the repetition; and even less significant is the replacement of *döst* by its synonym *yâr*. One source goes on to repeat the final part at the beginning of the second block, but otherwise the material in HP is retained in nearly every case. The following verse text makes little sense, being corrupt already in the earliest recorded version, so that it is hardly surprising to encounter a certain amount of variation, for example the substitution in T 5644 and T 3866 of *ķaym* for the initial *ķavl* of HP.

The verse is followed by a further lengthy syllable passage which completes the first section of the piece. The beginning, *ahā ahā hey döst/yâr*,<sup>40</sup> is repeated once in HP and the eighteenth-century versions,<sup>41</sup> but twice in the later ones. Patterns of repetition also vary in the next segment, displayed in fig. 32. In HP this material is followed by the term *mükerrer*, but what is not clear is whether it refers to everything after the verse, or just to what follows the last of the commas, which clearly serve as internal punctuation symbols. Reference to the modern version would support the latter interpretation, but the matter is complicated by the fact that Or. 7252 also has the instruction *mükerrer* at this point and, as it lacks internal punctuation, would more readily align itself with the former. As in fig. 31, there is virtually no difference between the version of Haşim Bey and that provided by the modern notation: the text of the piece has evidently remained stable for over a century at least. The same is true of the remainder of the passage, for which only one modern form need therefore be given. In general, however, there are marked differences in this final segment, not between the modern form and HP, but between these and the eighteenth-century accounts, the extreme case being T 5644, in which the loss of material is total, the section ending with fig. 32. The contents of the remaining versions are displayed in fig. 33.

Evident here is that the eighteenth-century versions have less material, although the brevity of T 3866 is deceptive, since either what is displayed in fig. 33 or, conceivably, all the post-verse section, is to be repeated. But a more radical difference in patterns of repetition concerns the totality of the material so far considered, for in all the pre-nineteenth-century versions this is, as expected, repeated to form the second section (*hānel bend-i şānī*), in which H2 is substituted

<sup>39</sup> Süleymaniye MS Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef. 1002 (i.e. the later material surrounding the antecedent collection S); İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS T 5644; Topkapı MS R 1723; İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS T 3866; British Library MS Or. 7252.

<sup>40</sup> With an initial *hey* in T 5644.

<sup>41</sup> In most omitting *döst/yâr*.



HP	dedere dirten	tinâ,	dillere dirten	tinâ,	ter dilli ney vâ,	ter dilli ney yâr	ter dilli hey dâst
VE 1002	" "	" "	" "	tenî	dir lilli ten dâst	" "	" "
T 5644	diller dirtenî	"	deider dirtenî	tinâ	ter dilli ney vâ	" "	" "
R1723	" "	" "	ter dilli tenî	"	" " yâr	" " dâst	" " ney vâ
T 3866	dedere	"	tanânâ diller ler	"	lillen ten vâ	dir lillen ten vâ,	dir lillen ten dâst
Or. 7252	" "	tinâ	diller dir	"	dillen ney	ter dillen ney vâ	" "
Haşim	" dillerler	"	dillere dillerler	"	" dilli	" [ " x 2	ter dilli " vâ
modern	" "	" "	" "	" "	" " [ " x 2	" " ]	" " "

Fig. 32

HP	tinâ yenter lâ yenter ye	le lî nazlîm vâ	tinâ yenter lâ yenter ye	le	li yel tel tel	lel lâ + text fragment
R 1723	" " " "	" "	" " " "	le	" " " "	" " " "
T 3866	âdirnâ	" " " "	" "	" "	" yelli dâst â dirnâ	" " "
Or. 7252	tinâ	" " " "	" "	" "	len yel tel tel	" " " "
modern	alt tinâ	" " " "	yele	" " " "	lî ye	le le tel le " "

Fig. 33



for H1. By the mid nineteenth century, however, this whole section had been dropped, the piece proceeding directly from the end of fig. 33 to the beginning of the *miyân* (and the text of H3).<sup>42</sup> The material of this differs remarkably little from one source to another; and also common to all versions is the concluding repeat of the syllable block (+ verse fragment) following the verse (H1) in the first section. In broad terms, therefore, we encounter in *kâr-i muhteşem* a piece which has been gravely altered in its structure and proportions by the loss of a whole section, but which otherwise exhibits, especially in the *miyân*, a reasonably high level of consistency in its verbal substance.<sup>43</sup>

#### 4.4.2. The notated forms

Whether it has maintained a comparable level of consistency in its melodic substance is impossible to say, but certain conclusions may nevertheless be drawn about relative stability or fluidity from a comparison of two modern notated forms. One, (a), referred to in figs. 31-3, is that recorded by the Devlet Korosu directed by Nevzat Atlığ,<sup>44</sup> and also performed by such eminent singers as Alaeddin Yavaşca and Bekir Sıtkı Sezgin.<sup>45</sup> Information on the provenance and diffusion of the other version, (b), is unfortunately unavailable, but its style of notation is rather unusual in that it combines an obsolete feature, the representation of *B<sup>4</sup>* (*segâh*) as *B*, with an innovation, the substitution of *ı* for *ş*, and provides, further, an unexpectedly high level of detail in specifying dynamics and expression which, together with the stylized nature of the script, suggests, rather, a relatively recent date of production and, consequently, that we are not dealing with an antiquated and forgotten form. But even if (b) were no longer current, its existence would still demonstrate that there have been in the twentieth century two versions of this piece differing not in form (which is completely identical) nor in the text (which is virtually identical) but certainly melodically. Thus of the 26 cycles making up the first section there are discrepancies, some quite marked, in no fewer than eleven, as shown in ex. 12. It will be seen, however, that the variants generally lie not in the domain of

<sup>42</sup> Presumably a slip in T 5644 is the insertion of the phrase *hemçü evvel* ('as before') in place of the text of H3.

<sup>43</sup> The similarities between HP and the modern form are puzzling, and suggest that the particular hand which added it in HP (not that of Hâfız Post himself) might be later than previously supposed, so that the relationship of the forms recorded could be primarily one between a set of early to mid-eighteenth-century versions and an eighteenth-century precursor of the modern version which adds material: the progression would then be one of textual amplification rather than loss within the section that survives.

<sup>44</sup> Issued (1989) in cassette form under the auspices of the Türk Dünyası Araştırmalar Vakfı (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı).

<sup>45</sup> With the accompaniment of an instrumental group led by the equally eminent Necdet Yaşar (during a concert in London forming part of the 'Music of the Royal Courts' season in 1988).

HP	deidere dîrten	tinâ,	dîllere dîrten	tinâ,	ter dîlli ney vâ,	ter dîlli ney yâr	ter dîlli hey dîst
VE 1002	" "	" "	" "	tenî	dir lîlli ten dîst	" "	" "
T 5644	dîller dîrtenî	"	deider dîrtenî	tinâ	ter dîlli ney vâ	" "	" "
R1723	" "	" "	ter dîlli tenî	"	" " yâr	" " dîst	" " ney vâ
T 3866	deidere	"	tanânâ dîller ter	"	lîllen ten vâ	dir lîllen ten vâ,	dir lîllen ten dîst
Or. 7252	" "	" "	tinâ dîller dir	"	" dîllen ney	ter dîllen ney vâ	" "
Haşım	" dîllerler	"	dîllere dîllerler	"	" dîlli	" " ] x 2	ter dîlli " vâ
modem	" "	" "	" "	" "	" " ]	" " ] x 2	" " "

Fig. 32

HP	tinâ yenter lâ yenter ye	le lî nazlîm vâ	tinâ yenter lâ yenter ye	le	lî yel lel lel	lel lâ + text fragment
R 1723	" "	" "	" "	" "	" " "	" " "
T 3866	âdîrnâ	" "	" "	" "	" yelli dîst â dîrnâ	" " "
Or. 7252	tinâ	" "	" "	" "	" lî yel lel lel	" " "
modem	ah tinâ	" "	yele	" "	lî ye	" le le le le " "

Fig. 33

for H1. By the mid nineteenth century, however, this whole section had been dropped, the piece proceeding directly from the end of fig. 33 to the beginning of the *miyân* (and the text of H3).<sup>42</sup> The material of this differs remarkably little from one source to another; and also common to all versions is the concluding repeat of the syllable block (+ verse fragment) following the verse (H1) in the first section. In broad terms, therefore, we encounter in *kâr-i muhteşem* a piece which has been gravely altered in its structure and proportions by the loss of a whole section, but which otherwise exhibits, especially in the *miyân*, a reasonably high level of consistency in its verbal substance.<sup>43</sup>

#### 4.4.2. The notated forms

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<sup>45</sup> With the accompaniment of an instrumental group led by the equally eminent Necdet Yaşar (during a concert in London forming part of the 'Music of the Royal Courts' season in 1988).

Example 12 is a musical score consisting of two staves, labeled 'a' and 'b'. The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, bar lines, and phrasing slurs. The score is divided into measures numbered 4 through 23. Measures 14 and 18 contain the numbers 14 and 18 respectively, possibly indicating measure numbers or other identifiers. The score ends with a double bar line and a fermata over the final note in measure 23.

Example 12




metrical organization (controlled by the structure of the rhythmic cycle, *devr-i revân*), nor even, in most cases, in that of the direction and contour of the melody, but rather in the occurrence of similar material a fifth or a third apart, and although a considerable proportion of the composition has been affected in this way it would still be reasonable to conclude that a century and a half of oral


transmission has led to a degree of differentiation modest enough to suggest only minor and gradual departures from the early eighteenth-century form. (It must, nevertheless, be conceded that ignorance of both the transmission history of these two versions and the existence or otherwise of further versions means that such a conclusion can only be advanced with diffidence: conceivable also would be a single line of transmission for the greater part of the period allowing, therefore, for more sudden and radical departures, with the split into two versions occurring relatively recently.)

In the *miyān* differentiation is less, the two versions being separated essentially by a greater or lesser degree of embellishment. This is initially greater in (b):



Example 13

but thereafter in (a), the typical difference being the elaboration of  in (b) to  in (a). As expected, the *miyān* does provide melodic contrast, but despite the initial upward leap of a fifth in ex. 13 this is effected not by register shift but by modulation, contrary to what appears, from the evidence supplied by 'Ali Ufki, to have been the norm in the seventeenth century. This difference apart, it may be said that in general the melodic style of this piece, in a rhythmic cycle that has retained the same morphology as in the seventeenth century, is not too dissimilar to what we encounter in 'Ali Ufki and Cantemir. Two features may be noted, however, as almost certainly later developments, one specific, the other general. The former concerns the consistent cycle-initial use of the rhythmic pattern . While this may on occasion have been found in seventeenth-century *devr-i revān* pieces,<sup>46</sup> it was then typical rather of

<sup>46</sup> It is, however, certainly not typical of Cantemir's instrumental repertoire, in which we normally encounter  in this position. A survey of three *devr-i revān* pieces (Cantemir 1992: nos. 170-2) yielded only one instance (170, H1 3).

another 14 time-unit cycle, *devr-i kebîr* (suggesting, therefore, either that the pervasive use of this rhythmic pattern is a later development or that the piece could originally have been in *devr-i kebîr*).<sup>47</sup> The latter concerns the degree of melodic density as measured by the number of pitch changes per cycle. Ignoring grace notes, the average for the first 20 cycles is precisely 10, while an equivalent sample taken from *devr-i revân* pieces notated by 'Alî Ufki and Cantemir yields a figure of 8.5.<sup>48</sup> The difference is, admittedly, not particularly great, but what suggests that the modern form of *kâr-i muhteşem* must incorporate a modest degree of embellishment relative to earlier forms is the disparity between maximum and minimum figures, for while the seventeenth-century pieces are consistently within a narrow range of 6 to 12, it exhibits a rather wider spread, from 4 to 16, and contains no less than six cycles in excess of the seventeenth-century maximum.

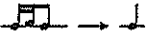
Coincidentally (but perhaps too neatly and easily), seventeenth-century norms of melodic density could be restored by putting the expected cycle (and half-cycle) initial ♩ ♩ in place of the modern ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩, as in the lower-line rewrite of the first four cycles:



Example 14

<sup>47</sup> Presumably a straightforward slip is the designation of the rhythmic cycle in Haşim Bey as *devr-i hindî*. One earlier source (Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef. 1002) also fails to assign it to *devr-i revân*, but the cycle given in this case is, strangely, *muhammes*.

<sup>48</sup> Melodic density cannot be used as a criterion for determining whether or not *kâr-i muhteşem* was originally in *devr-i kebîr*. Although the instrumental repertoire notated by Cantemir yields an average higher than 10 for this cycle, which would indicate, in the general context of a trend towards elaboration, that *kâr-i muhteşem* is unlikely to have switched cycles, it is possible to find in 'Alî Ufki a vocal piece (132b/250) in *devr-i kebîr* with an average melodic density as low as 5.6.

As we are dealing throughout with the substitution  no melodic awkwardness results. The lower line is not, however, put forward as a reconstruction: it merely displays a single systematic alteration that might convincingly be incorporated into one. Elsewhere we find features, notably the transposition from *A* to *B* of the modulation into *hicāz* in the *miyān*, which are quite foreign to seventeenth-century practice and would, therefore, present any attempt at reconstruction with much more daunting problems.

Even greater difficulties would be encountered in the case of *şey āğāze*. In its modern form the melodic density is vastly in excess of anything we find in the seventeenth-century pieces in the same rhythmic cycle, *ḥafīf*. The first eight cycles (again discounting what are notated as grace notes) yield an average of no less than 69 pitch changes per cycle, while the equivalent figure for eight cycles chosen at random from Cantemir's instrumental *ḥafīf* repertoire is 22, and in the one vocal piece defined by 'Alī Ufki as being in this cycle<sup>49</sup> the figure drops to as low as 17. That there is nothing untoward about the much lower level yielded by these particular seventeenth-century pieces may be seen by reference to pieces in other rhythmic cycles and forms, which confirm them. For ease of comparison the figures have been converted into pitch changes per time unit. We have, accordingly:

	seventeenth century	twentieth century	
<i>devr-i revān</i>	0.6	0.7	<i>kār-i muhteşem</i>
<i>ḥafīf</i> (instrumental)	0.7		
<i>ḥafīf</i> (vocal)	0.5	2.2	<i>şey āğāze</i>
<i>semā'i</i> (vocal)	0.6		
<i>düyek</i> (instrumental)	0.75		

It is thus difficult to resist the conclusion that, if there is a direct filiation, the present melodic line of *şey āğāze* represents a considerably embellished version of the seventeenth-century form.<sup>50</sup>

#### 4.5. A composition by Ḥāfız Post

It would be appropriate to conclude this survey of possibly continuities and transformations in specific compositions by turning aside from the real or imaginary 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi at last to consider a song in HP by Ḥāfız Post

<sup>49</sup> 15a/29.

<sup>50</sup> It is just possible that *şey āğāze* may be in some oblique way related to a piece (or fragment) notated by 'Alī Ufki (106b/206: I am grateful to Murat Bardakçı for drawing my attention to this). But the nature of the relationship (if any) is too complex to be discussed in detail here.

himself. In the *maḳām nevā* and in the rhythmic cycle *şakıl*, it is in HP (63b) an unassigned piece, corresponding therefore to the *murabba'* form of 'Alī Ufķi and the *beste* of Cantemir, and being assigned today to the latter category. With form, text, and rhythmic cycle remaining as stable as the identity of the composer, it would be tempting to see in this piece as preserved in the modern repertoire a reasonably faithful reflection of the original compositional practice and achievements of an important seventeenth-century figure and at the same time confirmation that, in contrast to the major innovations and disruptions detected in both repertoire and system prior to the seventeenth century, stability and continuity were characteristic of Ottoman music thereafter. But whatever else may have remained constant, comparison with other pieces in the same rhythmic cycle notated by 'Alī Ufķi and Cantemir shows that with regard to melodic style this composition is in its modern form at a considerable remove from anything Hāfız Post might have produced. Using again the criterion of melodic density, we find that whereas the average number of pitch changes per cycle in the form notated by Ezgi (2: 149-50) is 115 (that is, 2.4 per time unit), the comparable figure for two compositions in the same rhythmic cycle notated by 'Alī Ufķi (138b/261; 55b/111) is a mere 27.5 (0.6 per time unit), and a control sample of ten cycles in instrumental pieces notated by Cantemir yields an average that is at 33.7 (0.7 per time unit) only slightly higher and still barely more than a quarter of the figure for the Hāfız Post piece, which in its modern form thus has probably four times as many notes as were originally composed by Hāfız Post himself. The relationship between the seventeenth- and twentieth-century forms here is clearly of the same order as that noted for *şey āğāze* in 4.4.2 and, as an inevitable corollary, the nature of the setting in both is now also vastly removed, with its extended melismās, from the more frequently syllabic type which the evidence of 'Alī Ufķi indicates the dominant mid-seventeenth-century style to have been.

The contrast emerges clearly from ex. 15, which displays the first half of the first rhythmic cycle of three *şakıl* pieces. The top line is the modern Ezgi version of the Hāfız Post composition, the second a song, also in the *maḳām nevā*, notated by 'Alī Ufķi (55b/111), and the third a corresponding instrumental piece in *hüseynī* taken from Cantemir<sup>51</sup> (whose corpus does not, unfortunately, contain an example of the *şakıl/nevā* combination). On the assumption that these two embody seventeenth-century norms, an attempt is made in the fourth line to supply an outline of equivalent material that might conceivably have generated the modern form of the piece by Hāfız Post. It must be stressed, however, that this is not put forward as a hypothetical reconstruction of the original: it should be viewed, rather, as a typological approximation the value of which is essentially illustrative.

<sup>51</sup> Cantemir 1992: no. 89.



The musical score for Example 15 consists of four systems, each containing four staves. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The notation is as follows:

- System 1:** The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. It contains a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes.
- System 2:** The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes.
- System 3:** The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes.
- System 4:** The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp, with a few notes.

Example 15

It goes without saying that the tempo now current (Ezgi suggests  $(1 = ) \downarrow = 40$ ) would be quite inappropriate for the seventeenth-century pieces: one can hardly conceive that they would not have been performed at at least twice that speed.<sup>52</sup> Comparable and, indeed, more extreme instances of retardation and embellishment have been observed among modern survivals of seventeenth-century instrumental compositions,<sup>53</sup> and considering ex. 15 in conjunction with these it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that such developments, even if by no means universal, could have been fairly widespread in the vocal repertoire too, but with the significant difference that the concomitant (and drastic) loss of material encountered in the instrumental pieces may have been normally inhibited in songs by the semantic cohesiveness of the verse. (It is true that comparable losses have been observed in *kâr-i muhteşem*, but the distorted verse text of this piece is precisely lacking in semantic cohesiveness.)<sup>54</sup> In vocal pieces melodic innovation can thus proceed hand in hand with conservatism in the domain of formal structure, with the result that, as in *şey ağâze*, the dimensions may be vastly distended.

Evidence may even be found of melodic elaboration in the context of a rhythmic cycle that is now performed within a tempo range possibly not much slower than before, (*yürük*) *semâ'i*. One *semâ'i* attributed to Hâfız Post,<sup>55</sup> for example, has in its first ten cycles an average of 1.2 pitch changes per time unit, approximately twice that encountered in the seventeenth century. A similar contrast appears in ex. 16, which juxtaposes the beginnings of two *semâ'i*s in the *makâm nîkriz*, one notated by 'Ali Ufki (162b/292), the other, attributed to Hâfız Post, by Ezgi (2: 24-6), and given a metronome mark of  $(1 = ) \downarrow = 96$  initially rising to 126. Although the contrast is by no means as stark as in ex. 15, the greater degree of melodic elaboration in the modern piece is nevertheless evident (a later cycle will have 13 notes as against a maximum of 6 in 'Ali Ufki).

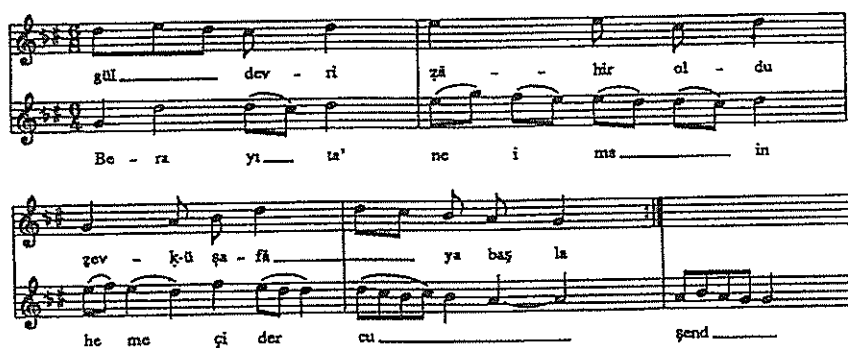
That it actually derives from a seventeenth-century original by Hâfız Post is most unlikely, for it is a *nakış*, and HP contains no examples of this form composed by its compiler. Its length also militates against authenticity: with no fewer than 83 cycles (without internal repeats) before the onset of the *mîyân* its proportions are vastly in excess of anything recorded by 'Ali Ufki, and one may further point not merely to the progressive increase in the length of the

<sup>52</sup> And a similar degree of retardation may be presumed in the case of *şey ağâze*, for which the tempo proposed is almost as slow,  $(1 = ) \downarrow = 44$ .

<sup>53</sup> See Wright 1988.

<sup>54</sup> And that the losses are not of the same order (even if equivalent in extent) is indicated by their position as well as by their nature. In the instrumental pieces material is normally lost from the end, the original final *hâne* failing to survive, while in *kâr-i muhteşem* it is the repeat (with a new text) of the extended first section - for which there is no equivalent in the *pesrev* form - that is discarded.

<sup>55</sup> *Gelsa o şuh meclise*, in *râst* (published by İskender Kuşmanlı, no. 14, İstanbul, n.d.).



Example 16

verse-setting segments but also to the lack of melodic repetition they exhibit. It is, however, with its alternation of verse and *terennümât* segments, quite traditional in form, and the detailed analyses in Ezgi 3 make it clear that the principal seventeenth-century structures described by Cantemir and exemplified by 'Alî Ufki have for the most part continued to exist with but little alteration into the modern period (which is not the same as saying that, in any given instance of a surviving seventeenth-century composition, the mapping of melodic material on to the formal structure will have remained the same). But if ex. 16 cannot vouch for the survival of a particular composition, it does at least provide evidence for continuity of modal structure (indeed, take away the text and only the beginning of the third cycle would argue against a possible derivation of the modern from the older piece) and it is to this subject that we may now turn, consideration first being given to the information that may be derived from the antecedent tradition to complement the accounts of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century theorists.

#### 4.6. Mode

Theoretical works, to generalize, give succinct (and sometimes elliptical) definitions of the structure of modes, and group them in various ways. But as they frequently represent a tradition of codification rather than independent enquiry it is not always clear whether the accounts they give have contemporary validity. Here the song-text collections provide a valuable check, for in addition to confirming which modes were in current use during a given period they show which occurred more frequently, so that considered in conjunction with the definitions of the theorists the information they supply can be used to form a

more precise view of the structure of the modal system and, in particular, to distinguish central elements from peripheral ones and ascertain directions of change.

A detailed history of the modal system is beyond the scope of the present work, and only certain broad themes will be selected for discussion. The number of theoretical works referred to will also be restricted, in the first place to readily dateable treatises spanning the period from NO/G to HP, specifically al-Lādiqī's *risāla al-faḥiyya*<sup>56</sup> and Binā'i's *risāla dar mūsīqī* (late fifteenth century), *al-maṭla' fī bayān al-adwār wa-'l-maqāmāt* (910/1504-5),<sup>57</sup> Qāsim b. Dōst 'Alī's *risāla dar 'ilm-i mūsīqī* (second half of the sixteenth century),<sup>58</sup> a set of short-hand *maqām* definitions included in Ox,<sup>59</sup> and Cantemir's *edvār*<sup>60</sup> of c. 1700 - slightly posterior to HP, but close enough in time to be considered effectively contemporary.

Al-Lādiqī's work is of particular interest, both because of its provision of outline definitions in notation, rather than just the imprecise verbal abstractions that were by then becoming the norm, and because of its explicit differentiation between ancients and moderns.<sup>61</sup> Thus in addition to maintaining a theoretical legacy and, together with it, an account of the modal system that goes back to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī and through him at least in part to Šafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī, he recognizes that in many cases this account was no longer valid and provides, therefore, an alternative set of modal definitions relevant to current practice, so that at least some of the changes that took place during the fifteenth century are recorded. But because later definitions are less explicit, the transition between the stages described by al-Lādiqī and Cantemir, who provides detailed verbal accounts as well as a record of the associated repertoire, is only fitfully illustrated, thus lending extra importance to any supplementary information that might be obtained from the song-text collections.

<sup>56</sup> British Library MS Or. 6629. The text is in certain respects defective, and as a check the translation in D'Erlanger 4 (from a manuscript in al-Zaytūna, Tunis) has also been used, together with the Ottoman Turkish translation of al-Lādiqī's other treatise, *zayn al-alḥān* (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS T 4380).

<sup>57</sup> Topkapı MS A 3459.

<sup>58</sup> John Rylands Library, Manchester, MS Persian 707. Copy made in 1861-2.

<sup>59</sup> Ouseley 128 fols. 73b-76a.

<sup>60</sup> The full title being *kitāb 'ilm ul-mūsīqī 'alā veh ul-hurūfāt*.

<sup>61</sup> In contrast, for example, to the contemporary account of Binā'i, which is derivative and conservative. Separate sections are devoted to the ancient and modern forms. Thus *nawrūz*, for example, is defined (fol. 56a) according to the ancients (*al-qudamā'*) as having two forms, one 'consisting of four notes encompassing three intervals, as follows: *c B<sup>♭</sup> A<sup>♯</sup> G*' (*mā yakūn arba' naḡamāt muṣṭamila 'alā ṭalāḡat ab'ād bi-hāḡa al-tarṭīb ḡ h j*'), the other, similarly, of seven notes and six intervals (*f e<sup>♭</sup> d<sup>♯</sup> c B<sup>♭</sup> A<sup>♯</sup> G*), while for the moderns (*al-muta'aḥḡirūn*) it is defined (fol. 68), after listing its cosmological affiliations, as 'ten notes encompassing nine intervals as follows: *B<sup>♭</sup> B<sup>♭</sup> A<sup>♯</sup> B<sup>♭</sup> B<sup>♭</sup> d<sup>♯</sup> B<sup>♭</sup> B<sup>♭</sup> A<sup>♯</sup> G*, within the interval *G - d* ... It begins on *B<sup>♭</sup>* and ends on *G*.' (*'aṣr naḡamāt muṣṭamila 'alā tis'at ab'ād bi-hāḡa al-tarṭīb w h j h w y w h j ' bu'd ḡaṣṡiyatih bu'd ' y ... mabda'uh w wa-maḡaṡfuh*).

## 4.6.1. Pitch sets

As the range of modes included in NO is so restricted, the only potentially worthwhile information to be gleaned from it concerns relative levels of incidence among the *šudūd* group. As table 1 (2.1.1) makes clear, *ḥusaynī* and *rāst* are the most commonly used (with 47 and 38 occurrences respectively), followed by *‘irāq* (32) and then a fairly equal group of seven (ranging from 23 to 15), with *nawā* (6) and *rahāwī* (2) making up the rear. The forms of these modes used by his contemporaries are without exception described by al-Lāḏiqī not in terms of the octave scale analysis propounded by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī but as entities of relatively restricted range, generally tetrachords, or pentachords.<sup>62</sup> Such is not necessarily to be interpreted as an indication of shrinkage, still less as meaning that the melody would always be confined to these notes; it may be assumed, rather, that they form the essential kernel of the mode. The very low frequency of occurrence of *rahāwī* is thus not explained simply by the fact that only a basic four pitches appear in al-Lāḏiqī's definition. One might, however, look for a possible explanation (despite the potentially circular nature of the argument) in the status of this particular pitch set relative to others, and the information contained in table 1 allows us to determine fairly readily that certain tetrachord or scale types tended to appear more or less frequently than others.

Unlike Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī, al-Lāḏiqī does not notate all modes from a single pitch base, and two of the three commonest modes in NO (which account between them for no less than 46% of the whole) are presented as overlapping segments of a single pitch set:



while the third is a transposed segment of the same set.<sup>63</sup>



Taking again *d* above middle *c* (written as *D* above *C*) as the equivalent of *alif*, the lowest pitch symbol, the lowest tetrachord of this pitch set coincides with that of the mode *rāst* (defined as *D E F♯ G F♯ E D*), and the whole may for convenience be termed the *rāst* pitch set, it being understood, however, that it is no more closely related to the mode of that name than it is to the others that can

<sup>62</sup> British Library MS Or. 6629, ff. 65b-68a.

<sup>63</sup> By the beginning of the sixteenth century this, too, will be articulated as an untransposed segment of the original pitch set: in *al-maṭla'* (fol. 9b) it is described as beginning on *ḡeḡḡāh* (*e*) and ending on *dugḡāh* (*A*).

be articulated in terms of it. Two further such pitch sets may be distinguished, one characterized by a tetrachord having a larger than whole-tone interval in the centre (1 2<sup>+</sup> 3 4), which may be termed the *hijāz* pitch set, the other being (Pythagorean) diatonic. But these three sets still only supply between them seven of the twelve *šudūd*: the remaining five (*isfahān*, *kūčak*,<sup>64</sup> *buzurg*, *zangūla*, and *rahāwī*) may be related to what have been described in the theoretical literature as isolate species (*ajnās mufrada*).<sup>65</sup> However, so to label them conceals the presence of a common feature (and one, moreover, that seems to have been particularly widespread within the system as described by al-Lāḏiqī) which may be termed compression, that is, the inclusion of more than four pitches within the span of a fourth, or of four pitches within an interval smaller than a fourth. A frequent result is the juxtaposition of two intervals adding up to a whole-tone, as in *isfahān*, defined as *G F# F# E# D*. This could be categorized either as a combination or superimposition of segments of the *rāst* and *hijāz* sets (*D E# F G + D E# F# G*) or, more simply, as a derivate of the *rāst* pitch set, the upper whole-tone being divided into two semitones.<sup>66</sup> Other compressed species may also be satisfactorily described in terms of subdivision. Of the other four *šudūd* incorporating the feature of compression, *zangūla* and (perhaps) *buzurg* may be related in this way to the *hijāz* pitch set, and *rahāwī* to the diatonic set. But a number of independent non-derivable entities still remain, one of which is *kūčak*. In terms of the number of coincident pitch levels it is the *rāst* pitch set to which *kūčak* is closest, and in consequence the *šudūd* modes may be grouped according to scalar affinities as follows (with, after each, the number of occurrences in NO):

<i>rāst</i> set:	<i>husaynī</i> (47), <i>rāst</i> (38), <i>irāq</i> (32), <i>nawā</i> (6)
<i>rāst</i> related:	<i>isfahān</i> (23)
independent:	<i>kūčak</i> (21)
<i>hijāz</i> set:	<i>hijāz</i> (21)
<i>hijāz</i> related:	<i>zangūla</i> (19), <i>buzurg</i> (19)
diatonic set:	<i>būsalīk</i> (18), <i>uṣṣāq</i> (15)
diatonic related:	<i>rahāwī</i> (2)

With the signal exception of *nawā*, we thus find a fairly similar internal level within groups having more than one member. But while the numerical evidence provided by NO gives some idea, not easily obtainable through the theoretical

<sup>64</sup> Originally *zīrafḡand-i kūčak*, also referred to simply as *zīrafḡand*. The two terms are eventually differentiated, although they still appear together at the beginning of the sixteenth century in *al-maṭla*.

<sup>65</sup> Wright 1978: 80.

<sup>66</sup> Derivation is here a purely descriptive term and has no implications for possible historical relationships: as far as chronology is concerned, it may be noted that *isfahān* appears to predate the emergence of the *hijāz* set, so that the former relationship is invalid as a statement of origin. In general, we may assume that the various sets are discrete.

literature, of the relative importance in practice of these various modes and groupings of modes, it cannot of itself suggest causes, so that in order to explain the strikingly lower level of incidence of *nawā* and *rahāwī* we must revert to the structures and their history as derived from the theorists. These allow us to speculate that in both cases we may be confronted with a mode that, in contrast to the others, has gone through a transitional phase during the fifteenth century (but whether resulting in or stemming from relative neglect is impossible to say) related to a significant recasting of its scale structure. In *rahāwī* the shift is from a kernel notatable as *D E F F#* to al-Lāḍiqī's *D C# D D# E D#*. But this is not easy to interpret. It might be thought that if the diatonic set was, as the evidence of NO suggests, less significant than the others, a diatonic-related mode needing to be relocated would have been better served by moving towards the orbit of one of the stronger sets. What we encounter, inexplicably, is retention of its seemingly unfavourable position as the only member of the diatonic-related set combined with an increase in the degree of compression. With *nawā*, on the other hand, the move is from a diatonic kernel *D E F G* to *D E# F G*. This may have resulted from attraction exerted by the dominant *rāst* pitch set combining with and reinforcing initial pressure from another diatonic mode, *būsalik*, which, from an original /1 2<sub>b</sub> 3<sub>b</sub> 4/ (*E F G A*) kernel, was moving towards /1 2 3<sub>b</sub> 4 5/ (*D E F G A*) and tending therefore to crowd *nawā* out. But whatever the reason for the change, it meant that *nawā* had to establish itself in territory already occupied by what G, Ox and S show to have been the extremely common *dugāh*.

Nevertheless, the two later collections indicate that whatever new vessels the old flags of *rahāwī* and *nawā* had been hoisted on were again part of the main fleet. The relative frequencies of the *šudūd* modes in all three, expressed as a percentage of the total for the set, are displayed in table 21. The increase in the later collections shown not only in *nawā* but also in 'irāq and (in Ox) *rāst* means that the *rāst* set becomes even more predominant than before, accounting for 53.8% of the whole in S and 59.8% in Ox, while the most marked decline appears in modes based upon other pitch sets, *kūčak* and, especially, *zangūla*.

The evidence supplied by the anthologies with regard to the *āwāzes* is more difficult to interpret. Given the incomplete nature of the record contained in G, changing preferences cannot be detected, and all we have is the incidence of use in Ox and S, presented in table 9 (2.5.5), which shows that three of the six (*gardāniya*, *nawrūz* and *salmak*) occurred quite frequently, while two (*gawāšt* and *māya*) were relatively rare. But correlations with pitch sets of the type discussed in relation to the *šudūd* are difficult to make, for al-Lāḍiqī's definitions, which in any case may not always have been relevant to the mid-sixteenth-century form of these modes, exhibit considerable structural variety. At most, one might note

	NO	Ox <sup>67</sup>	S
<i>rāst</i>	14.6	20.7	14.1
<i>'irāq</i>	12.3	16.1	14.1
<i>iṣfahān</i>	8.8	6.9	6.4
<i>kūčak</i>	8.0	3.4	5.1
<i>buzurg</i>	7.3	6.3	6.4
<i>zangūla</i>	7.3	4.0	1.3
<i>rahāwī</i>	0.8	4.0	5.1
<i>ḥusaynī</i>	18.0	17.8	17.9
<i>ḥijāz</i>	8.0	5.2	5.1
<i>būsalīk</i>	6.9	6.3	10.3
<i>nawā</i>	2.3	5.2	7.7
<i>'uṣṣāq</i>	5.7	4.0	6.4

Table 20

that *gardāniya* belongs to the *rāst* pitch set while *māya*, which could also be assigned to it, is unique in having a gapped scale (*D F# G A*). However, the relative importance of the various pitch sets in the mid sixteenth century may be better gauged by considering not just the *ṣudūd* and *āwāzes* but the remaining classes of modes (*ṣu'bas* and *tarkibs*) also. Among the few others mentioned in *G* are *dugāh* (61 occurrences), *segāh* (29) and *čārgāh* (5): these provide the overwhelming majority of instances, and all belong to the *rāst* pitch set. But *Ox* and *S* refer to a much larger number, and can reasonably be supposed to encompass the repertoire of modes as a whole, the core of which still seems largely coincident with the range defined by al-Lāḏiqī. It is true that they refer to a certain number not recognized by him, and also that not all the definitions he supplies will be valid for the mid sixteenth century. But in the present context there is no strong reason for not proceeding on the basis that the ones they do have in common may be assigned to the pitch sets established in relation to his definitions of the *ṣudūd*. One potential complication, however, is that in several modes the range is not restricted to, say, a kernel tetrachord and, consequently, material assignable to two pitch sets may co-occur, so that for a precise classification it would be necessary to include combined categories. But for present purposes a fully detailed inventory is unnecessary and, disregarding cases of this type, in any case a relatively small proportion of the whole, we may merely note that among the non-*ṣudūd* modes it is the *rāst* pitch set, with some twelve modes, that is the most productive, followed by the *ḥijāz* and independent

<sup>67</sup> Excluding the *naḥṣ*, *pēšraw*, and *dā'ira* categories peculiar to *Ox*. But the distribution of the modes within these does not differ markedly from that in the remainder of the collection.



with approximately half that number each, while the diatonic group exhibits an increase of no more than one.

Such a distribution accords with the hierarchy suggested by the frequency table for the *šudūd* modes. Furthermore, the assumption that productivity as measured in terms of the number of modes associated with a given pitch set is a reasonable indication of relative importance is amply borne out by the evidence supplied by Ox and S with regard to frequency of occurrence. This may be illustrated by reference to Ox, which provides the larger sample (the general profile in S is in any case fairly similar). The 21 most common modes, and the number of times they occur, are as follows:

1.	<i>rāst</i>	36	10.	<i>gardāniya</i>	12
2.	<i>panjgāh</i>	32	10.	<i>isfahān</i>	12
3.	<i>ḥusaynī</i>	31	10.	<i>muḥayyir</i>	12
4.	<i>dugāh</i>	30	10.	<i>nišābūrak</i>	12
5.	<i>‘irāq</i>	28	10.	<i>nūhuft</i>	12
6.	<i>‘uzzāl</i>	27	10.	<i>nawrūz</i>	12
7.	<i>čārgāh</i>	19	10.	<i>salmak</i>	12
8.	<i>segāh</i>	18	17.	<i>‘ajam</i>	11
9.	<i>māhūr</i>	13	17.	<i>būsalik</i>	11
			17.	<i>buzurg</i>	11
			20.	<i>bastanigār</i>	10
			20.	<i>nīrīz</i>	10

Table 21

This table shows that the importance of the *rāst* pitch-set modes is, in fact, even greater than their simple numerical predominance in the system as a whole would indicate. Not only are no fewer than 13 of the 21 from the *rāst* or *rāst*-related groups,<sup>68</sup> but they also monopolize the top places: with the exception of *‘uzzāl* in sixth position all the others are clustered towards the bottom. The *rāst* and *rāst*-related modes listed here yield together 266 occurrences, the remainder only 105.

<sup>68</sup> They are distributed as follows:

*rāst* set: *rāst*, *ḥusaynī*, *dugāh*, *‘irāq*, *čārgāh*, *segāh*, *gardāniya*, *muḥayyir*, *nišābūrak*

*rāst* related: *isfahān*, *‘ajam*

independent: *nawrūz*, *salmak*, *bastanigār*

*ḥijāz* set: *‘uzzāl*

Of the remainder *panjgāh*, *māhūr* and *nīrīz* have two forms. For *panjgāh* one belongs to the *rāst* set, while the other is *rāst* related; for *māhūr* one belongs to the *rāst* set, while the other is a *rāst* + diatonic combination; and for *nīrīz* one belongs to the *ḥijāz* set, while the other is a *ḥijāz* + *rāst* combination, as is *nūhuft*. Particularly striking, therefore, is the weakness of the (Pythagorean) diatonic set.

## 4.6.2. Combinations

Among the many less used modes cited in the antecedent tradition are several absent from the theoretical literature. This does not come as a complete surprise, since a work such as al-Lādiqī's *risāla al-faḥḥiyya* does not claim to provide an exhaustive account,<sup>69</sup> but what is particularly significant about the further information supplied by the song-text collections is that the majority of the other modes mentioned are combination pairs, pointing therefore to the continuing importance of an aspect of the system described and exemplified in some detail at the turn of the fourteenth century by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī,<sup>70</sup> but largely ignored by al-Lādiqī and other later Systematist theorists, whose work gives little inkling that the creative possibilities of the system were still being so frequently exploited in this way. The particular combinations mentioned are:

- G: *dugāh-isfahān, dugāh-māya, dugāh-rāst, 'irāq-māya, nawā-māya, nawrūz-rāst, segāh qarārgāh rū-yi 'irāq, segāh-'uzzāl*  
 NO: *būsalik-māya, dugāh-hijāz, nawā maḥaṭṭ-i māya*  
 S: *'ajam-nigār, dugāh-hijāz, 'irāq-māya*  
 Ox: *būsalik-mubārqa', čārgāh-'ajam, dugāh-'ajam, dugāh-kūčak, 'irāq-māya, nawā-būsalik, panjgāh-mubārqa', panjgāh-nigār, rakīb-kūčak (also kūčak-rakīb), rakīb-nawrūz, salmak-nuhuft, segāh-māya, segāh-mubārqa'*

Other texts, however, such as *al-maṭla'*, do give attention to combinations of this type<sup>71</sup> and, in the light of the evidence of the song-text collections, they must be judged, in this respect, to provide a more accurate indication of the scope of the system as a whole than al-Lādiqī's treatises. What they fail to provide, unfortunately, is more than a sketchy reference to the order in which the constituent elements appear, assuming on the part of the reader prior knowledge of the structure of these. Consequently, we cannot know exactly what is denoted by such compound mode names, although we may begin, guardedly, with the assumption that they imply the full use of the individual components in the order in which they are named, as is suggested by the more explicit '*nawā* ending in *māya*' phraseology occurring in NO and G.<sup>72</sup> We may, accordingly, observe that the same set priorities apply as before, *rāst*-set modes appearing in 23 of the 24 pairs listed,<sup>73</sup> the largest group (seven in number) consisting of *rāst* set +

<sup>69</sup> The section heading for the *tarkīb*s (British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 69a) indicates that the 30 listed are only those most widely used (*al-musta'mal al-maḥḥūr*).

<sup>70</sup> Wright 1978: 180-92.

<sup>71</sup> Five of the above are in fact listed in *al-maṭla'*.

<sup>72</sup> In which case it could be argued that *rakīb-kūčak* and *kūčak-rakīb* should be independent entities.

<sup>73</sup> Assuming that *rakīb* is to be identified with *rakb* according to al-Lādiqī.

independent set combinations, normally in that order, while in a further six pairs both modes belong to the *rāst* or *rāst*-related sets.

Whether any particular structural principles govern the choice of modes to be paired is not easy to determine. In relation to the much earlier stage of the system described by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Širāzī it could be observed that a basic concern to maintain a high level of consonant interval relationships (if the two modes being combined are at different pitch levels) or to minimize differentiation (if at the same pitch level) was the overriding factor governing selection, and of the present batch one could cite, say, '*ajam-nigār*' as a perfect example of this, there being just one pitch that is not the same within the area of overlap:

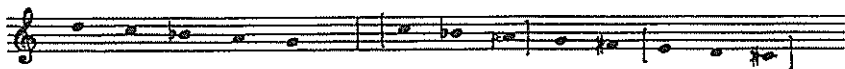


Several others also seem to accord well with this principle but, although it is reasonable to suppose that the general criterion of selection had changed little, if at all, it must be conceded that the precise nature both of the constituent elements and of the conditions of the combination are less well known for the late fifteenth to mid sixteenth centuries than for the earlier period. It has been assumed, for example, without evidence, that both elements remain at the original pitch assigned to them by al-Lāḍiqī when describing them as separate entities. Moreover his descriptions, even if more precise than those in later treatises, still sometimes resemble shorthand, picking out a characteristic trait rather than attempting a full account. Thus the verbal definition of *mubārqa* as '*čārgāh* ending on *segāh*', which might suggest a particular variant of the mode *čārgāh* with *segāh* as final, is accompanied by the notation *G F#* (alternatively *A# G*), thus reducing it to a two-note kernel,<sup>74</sup> according to which the combination *būsālik-mubārqa* would appear as:



and given the verbal reference to *čārgāh* one might suppose that melodic amplification of *mubārqa* would utilize the adjacent pitches from the *rāst* set, thus making the combination have only one pitch clash, *Bb* versus *B#*. But al-Lāḍiqī goes on to say that the kernel is in fact amplified in a different way, making the combination appear, rather, as:

<sup>74</sup> D'Erlanger 4: 407. British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 58b is not wholly clear, but appears to offer, rather, *A# G* and *E# D* (in the *zayn al-alḥān* we are offered only *G F#*). But the essential point is that it is defined as any two notes separated by a *j* (three-quarter tone) interval.



He then adds, as a further complication, that this extended form of *mubārqa* is sometimes called *čārgāh-mubārqa*, raising therefore the possibility that some of what have been assumed straightforwardly to be two-mode combinations might rather be constructs of a different order, or even variants of a pre-existing mode.<sup>75</sup> The latter is perhaps less likely, however, for variants may be indicated in Ox and S by other means: both *nuhfī* and *‘uṣṣāq* are on occasion qualified by the term *muḥbiq*,<sup>76</sup> *nawā* has a subsidiary form *nawā-yi šabānkārī*, Ox cites a *māhūr-i ḥaṭā’ī*,<sup>77</sup> and S contains pieces utilizing variants of *ḥiṣār* and *‘uṣṣāq* which by the compiler at least were stigmatized as *gayr-i mustahabb* ('disapproved of') - all pointing to the possibility of a number of modes existing in a variety of forms from among which theorists would normally only choose one.<sup>78</sup> But a rather more serious complication results from the fact that an evaluation of such compounds relying squarely on the definitions of al-Lādiqī is in certain particulars suspect for, as noted above, not all modes will have retained down to the mid sixteenth century the structure described by him in the latter part of the fifteenth. The cryptic definitions in Ox, for example, refer to *nawā* in terms that can be matched with al-Lādiqī's definition,<sup>79</sup> but to *‘uṣṣāq* in terms that cannot.<sup>80</sup> Equally disconcerting is to note that, although most combinations are described as one would expect, so that e.g. *rāst-māya* is said to begin with *rāst* and end with *māya*, others are quirky: *ḥiṣār-awj* does begin with *ḥiṣār*, but ends with *buzurg*.

Variation in nomenclature is yet another factor suggesting that not every mode name will correspond to a predictable or universally agreed structure. Although restricted to just a few instances, alternative names are encountered both in the theoretical literature and the song-text collections. Qāsim b. Dōst 'Alī gives the following unexpected set of equivalences:<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Such complications are prefigured (and consequently rendered more likely) in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Širāzī's definitions of one or two modes (Wright 1978: 192). Thus for him *dugāh wa-ḥijāzi* ends as well as begins in *dugāh*, while *dugāh wa-raḥdwi* has a central section in a third mode.

<sup>76</sup> Or, perhaps, *muḥbaq* or *muḥabbīq*.

<sup>77</sup> Ouseley 128: 9a. This mode appears more prominently in the Paris MS Blochet 2013 - ancien fonds 260.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. the contrast, in an anonymous Persian fragment (Nuruosmaniye MS 3653, fols. 50b-51a), between 'usual *muḥayyir*' (*muḥayyir-i ma'ḥūd*) and an 'unusual *muḥayyir*' (*muḥayyir bi-ṭariq-i ḡarīb*).

<sup>79</sup> It is said (fol. 73b) to begin in *panjgāh* and end in *dugāh*.

<sup>80</sup> Here the elements mentioned (fol. 73b) are *dugāh* and *‘irāq*, which certainly do not square with the diatonic description of al-Lādiqī.

<sup>81</sup> John Rylands Library, Manchester, MS Persian 707, fol. 21a.

<i>ʿirāq</i>	-	<i>majlis afrūz</i>
<i>ḥijāz</i>	-	<i>nīrīz-i kabūr</i>
<i>ḥusaynī</i>	-	<i>zīrkaš</i>
<i>zangūla</i>	-	<i>nihāwand</i> <sup>82</sup>

while both S and Ox contain a set of seven pieces attributed to Šafi al-Dīn, each of which is headed by two mode names, one, it is averred, that used by Arabs, the other its non-Arab (*ʿajam*) i.e. Persian, equivalent:<sup>83</sup>

Arab	non-Arab
<i>zangūla</i>	<i>rāst</i>
<i>mubārqaʿ</i>	<i>čārgāh</i>
<i>zāwil</i>	<i>nišābūrak</i>
<i>ḥusaynī</i>	<i>zanbūrak</i>
<i>isfahān</i>	<i>panjgāh</i>
<i>gawāšt</i>	<i>bastanigār</i>
<i>ʿuššāq</i>	<i>baḥr-i nāzik</i>

Both lists are problematic. The *ḥusaynī/zīrkaš* pair may correspond to the equation of *wajh-i ḥusaynī* with *zīrkaš* in Ox,<sup>84</sup> but although available definitions point to a family relationship between, say, *gawāšt* and *bastanigār* or *mubārqaʿ* and *čārgāh*, they do not suggest identity; and acceptance of the Arab/non-Arab distinction is further undermined by the simple fact that the song-text collections, which must clearly be located in a non-Arab environment, happily use both *isfahān* and *panjgāh*, for example, or both *gawāšt* and *bastanigār* (and indiscriminately for settings of Arabic or Persian verse); further, it is puzzling in the extreme to have to entertain the notion that such well-known mode names as *zangūla* and *rāst* could be applied in different areas to the same piece when all the existing accounts of these modes indicate that they were structurally very dissimilar. A further reason for finding the proposed equivalence of *zangūla* and *rāst* suspect is that they are both members of the basic *šudūd* group of modes: it is difficult to accept that the set could contain a mode which appeared twice under different names. It may be noted, further, that the two co-occur in the standard *duwāzdah wa-šaš* modulation sequences, while the lengthier modulations of the *kulliyāt* pieces will also include most of the other modes paired in the second list and may, indeed, even juxtapose a pair. Whereas it may be profitable to think of

<sup>82</sup> On this particular pair see Wright 1978: 71.

<sup>83</sup> Ox Ouseley 128, ff. 82b-84b, S: 8a-14b.

<sup>84</sup> Ouseley 128: 9a.

a degree of regional variation within the system of rhythmic cycles, there is little in the theoretical literature to hint at such diversification as far as the modes are concerned, and hence nothing to help us provide a satisfactory account of these equivalences.

Further mode names occurring in G, Ox and S that receive no mention in al-Lāḍiqī are:

- G: *dugāh-i aṣl, rû-yi 'irāq, segāh-i mu'tadil*  
 Ox and S: *ayk*,<sup>85</sup> *baḥr-i nāzik, ḥwājast*,<sup>86</sup> *murgak, nawā-yi šabānkārī, nuḥuṣṭ-i muḥbiq, wajh-i ḥusaynī*  
 Ox only: *māhūr-i ḥaṭā'i, sabz andar sabz, yl'wzk*,<sup>87</sup> *zilkāš*  
 S only: *bahrsar, ḥiṣār gayr-i mustahabb, huzzām, 'uṣṣāq gayr-i mustahabb*

Some are clearly variants of well-known modes, and their low level of incidence in the song-text collections indicates that they were marginal to the system as a whole, but in four cases (*baḥr-i nāzik, murgak, sabz andar sabz*, and *wajh-i ḥusaynī*) the omission is a little surprising, as we are dealing with modes that had already been mentioned in the mid-fifteenth-century treatise of Ḥizir b. 'Abdullāh, and were to reappear in *al-maṭla'* and also among the Ox definitions.<sup>88</sup> (One, *sabz andar sabz*, is unique in its complexity, being a combination drawing upon no less than eight other modes.<sup>89</sup>) These additional names - and given the sketchy nature of the definitions provided even the few that the theorists do mention can be little more than names - are nevertheless a useful further indication that the resources of the mid-sixteenth-century modal system were considerably greater than al-Lāḍiqī's account would have led us to predict.

To complete the picture, it should also be noted that there are one or two modes, such as *maqlūb*,<sup>90</sup> which are mentioned by theorists but fail to appear in the song-text collections. In the light of the large repertoire these contain there can be little doubt that in such cases absence may be equated with disappearance.

<sup>85</sup> Not the only possible reading.

<sup>86</sup> Written either *ḥw'jst* or *ḥwjst*.

<sup>87</sup> Presumably to be read *yal'ūzak*.

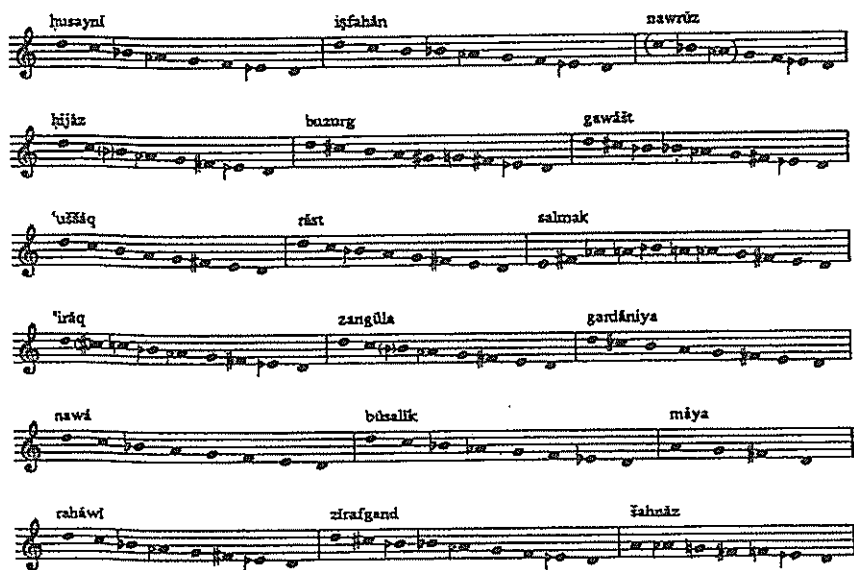
<sup>88</sup> Except for *murgak*, they are also mentioned in Tirevī, *kitāb ūl-advār*, John Rylands Library, Manchester, MS Turkish 148. In Ox (Ouseley 128: 75b) and *al-maṭla'*, *murgak* is equivalent to 'ajam-rāsi (thus suggesting something rather different to what is implied by the earlier description of Ḥizir b. 'Abdallāh).

<sup>89</sup> Specifically *ḥijaz, māya, buziurg, panjgāh, rahdwi, nuḥuṣṭ, 'uzzāl, čārgāh* (Ouseley: 76a = *al-maṭla'* fol. 19a). Ḥizir b. 'Abdallāh has the same ingredients, but in a slightly different order. How these disparate elements were combined is not indicated.

<sup>90</sup> Mentioned by Qāsim b. Dōst 'Alī (John Ryland's Library, Persian MS 707, fol. 17b). The form he gives is *maqlūb*, but although this is also attested elsewhere, the *maqlūb* of other texts (e.g. the *šajara dāt al-aknām*) is preferable.

## 4.6.3. Sequences

Also relatable in a general sense to the area of mode combinations are the various modulation sequences occurring in the 'twelve and six' and *kulliyāt* pieces. If the principle of maximizing consonant relationships (vertically) and minimizing differentiation (horizontally) still seems to be at work in fixed combinations, one might expect that it would in addition influence the routes taken through the various sets. The earliest relevant evidence is provided by the *mustazād* recorded by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, which modulates through all 18 *ṣudūd* and *āwāz* modes. The order is unusual in that the two sets are not kept apart; rather, each pair of *ṣudūd* modes is followed by a single *āwāz*. But even if the arrangement is highly schematic, there is no reason to suppose that a generally applied principle of consonance would not be operative here too, and despite the caveat that the account of the *ṣudūd* given by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī repeats the definitions of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī and may, therefore, not be fully representative of the practice of his own day, we do in fact find, even if some modulations are more abrupt than necessary, that according to these definitions the overall sequence presents a relatively smooth transition from mode to mode:



We may note, for example, that the first three modes have the first six notes in common, the first four the first five notes, and that thereafter the changes in the lower tetrachord, where they occur, proceed one note at a time, the only awkward interruption of this carefully arranged flow being caused by the insertion of the last *āwāz*, *māya*, between *būsalik* and *rahāwī*. It is instructive to note, however, that if a piece so evidently ordered to minimize the juxtaposition of contrasting scale structures were to survive for a century or so the logic of the organization would be subverted by the sometimes quite dramatic changes affecting the component parts. Substituting the definitions of al-Lāḍiqī yields a much less coherent sequence:



Assuming that the desirability of modulating with minimum friction had not lessened, it will readily be seen that changes to various links in the chain could entail loss of viability for the piece as a whole, and such developments may well have contributed to the disappearance of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī's modally complex *mustazād*.

In the modulation sequences of the song-text collections *ṣudūd* and *āwāzes* are always segregated. The structures of the latter are so diverse that little can be inferred from the various ways in which they are ordered: most possible sequences seem equally satisfactory or unsatisfactory from the point of view of consonance. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the obvious (or possibly too obvious) move from *māya* to *gardāniya* (or vice-versa):





only occurs once, and the move that might be thought the most likely to be avoided, from *salmak* to *gardāniya*:



is also attested.

Greater latitude is afforded by the twelve *šudūd*, not merely because of their number, but because of the increasing possibilities their structures offer for preferring similarity or contrast. Taking as an example the sequence in Ox Ouseley 128: 2b, we find that the majority of moves are along lines of least resistance, involving only one non-matching pitch at a time, as in the string *nawā* → *būsatik* → *hūsaynī* → *kūḩak* → *isfahān*:



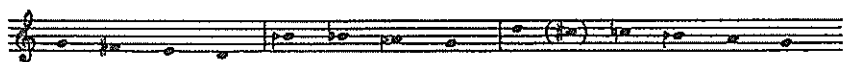
and a similar string occurs at the beginning of the sequence. But the mode preceding *nawā* is '*uṣṣāq*', the transition in this case being much harsher, and reference to other modulation sequences makes it clear that the modes *nawā*, '*uṣṣāq*' and *būsalik* always occur together, and normally in this particular order, which is that originally used by Ṣafi al-Dīn al-Urmawī in the thirteenth century in his classification of the modes, the reason then being straightforwardly that they were all (and the only) diatonic modes. Thus here it is evident that the conservative nature of the classification of the modes (reinforced by its prolongations into doctrines of ethos and cosmologically based sets of extra-musical associations)<sup>91</sup> has overridden the logic of subsequent alterations to intervallic structure. Even in the seventeenth century, in the one example of a modulation sequence through the twelve *ṣudūd* included by HP (61b), the same juxtaposition of '*uṣṣāq*', *nawā* and *būsalik* stands at the head, despite the fact that by this time '*uṣṣāq*' in its turn had ceased to be a diatonic mode, following *nawā* into the *rāst* set.

<sup>91</sup> For a brief introduction to this topic see e.g. Farmer 1943: 3-9 and for a fuller survey with further bibliographical references Neubauer 1990 (which deals especially with the therapeutic values ascribed to the modes).

Emphasis on consonant relationships and minimal differentiation also characterizes the arrangement of the *šudūd* in the *kullī kulliyāt* at the head of S.<sup>92</sup> The modes as a whole are organized in a sequence of groups matching exactly that exhibited in a number of theoretical texts. Accordingly, the *šudūd* precede the *āwāzes*, after which come the *šu'bas*, four related modes arranged in numerical sequence (from *waṣf-i yağāh* to *čārgāh*), followed by the considerably larger group of *tarkibs*.<sup>93</sup> Within this a similar emphasis is discernible too, as in the sequence *niriz* → 'uzzāl (the same tetrachord one step lower) → *muḥayyir* → *nuhuft* → *nihāwand*:



But it may be recalled that not all these modes, given here in the definitions of al-Lādiqī, will have remained unchanged down to the mid sixteenth century. Some transitions which in this form appear so smooth may in practice have been rather less so; but the converse also holds: preceding the above is the sequence *čārgāh* → *bastanigār* → *panjgāh*, and with the definitions supplied by al-Lādiqī these are uncomfortable bedfellows:



But if consideration is given, rather, to the description of *bastanigār* in *al-maṭla'* the sequence becomes less awkward, for this work shows that its structure must have altered quite significantly, and that in all probability it had become much more closely related to *segāh* and through that to other *rāst*-set modes such as those flanking it here.<sup>94</sup> On the basis of the evidence supplied by the song-text collections it thus seems safe to conclude that the principle of consonance/minimum differentiation, even if not rigorously applied, did continue to operate. The fact that certain sequences originally determined by it were maintained in spite of later internal changes may be held to demonstrate that in such cases the inertia of a traditional extra-musical association could be a more powerful factor;

<sup>92</sup> This is the one case where 'uṣṣāq is separated from *nawā* and *būsalik*.

<sup>93</sup> The same conventional *šudūd/āwāz/šu'ba/tarkib* sequence is exhibited by Ox Ouseley 128: 9a (the *muwaṣṣah kullī*).

<sup>94</sup> This shift is already prefigured in the definition of *Ḥizir b. 'Abdullāh* (British Library MS Or. 11091, fol. 128a) according to which *bastanigār* is made up of elements (however understood) stateable as the sequence *rāst* → *čārgāh* → *segāh*. In *al-maṭla'* (Topkapı MS A 3459, fol. 12a) and thence Ox (Ouseley 128, fol. 74a) *rāst* is replaced by the related *gardāniya*, and the *čārgāh* → *segāh* ending is maintained (*karār eyle segāh čārgāh evinde*).

but perhaps only temporarily, for it could equally well be argued that in the long term the opposite was the case, and that the very awkwardness that was perceived to result from the retention of the original order, despite significant changes in modal structure, contributed to the eventual abandonment of the time-honoured *duwāzdah wa-šaš* modulation sequence.

#### 4.6.4. Interlude: mode and poem

Extra-musical associations may be held to include not only the rich and diverse series of cosmologically underpinned relationships within which modes are aligned with heavenly bodies, humours, elements and sundry other phenomena, but also a notion of appropriateness according to which the verse chosen by the composer should conform to the range of emotional responses the mode in question is deemed to elicit. For Systematist theorists discussion of this topic derives from the basic formulation of Šafi al-Dīn,<sup>95</sup> who divided the *šudūd* modes (plus one *āwāz*) into three subgroups to each of which was attributed a distinctive character relatable, broadly, to features of intervallic structure.<sup>96</sup> This classification is maintained, with but minor refinements, by fifteenth century writers, who cite a number of other modes beyond the *šudūd* set but in essence adhere to the original tripartite division.<sup>97</sup> To ascertain the extent to which these ideas might have affected practising musicians and thus have had a direct impact on the choice of texts made by composers one might propose examining, say, all the verse set in a particular mode to see whether its emotional range was sufficiently uniform to be deemed consonant with such a theory of affinities. But given the inevitably subjective nature of any assessment of something as elusive as nuances of tone, it would be far simpler and more efficient to reverse the process, that is, to consider the various modes employed in the settings of the same verse (and ideally in the same anthology) in relation to the tripartite division of theory. Fortunately, there is one line that will serve this purpose admirably, that beginning *ahwāk* already discussed in 24.2.2-3, of which NO contains no fewer than eleven settings. The modes used, and the subgroups to which they belong in Šafi al-Dīn's original classification, are as follows:

- 1) *būsalik*, 'uššāq
- 2) *rāst* (4 settings)
- 3) *ḥusaynī* (2 settings), *kūčak*, *rahāwī*, *zangūla*

Given the number of modes in each subgroup ((1) has three, (2) four and (3) six) it would have been more difficult, with just eleven settings, to obtain as equal a

<sup>95</sup> *kitāb al-adwār*: 157; D'Erlanger 3: 543-4.

<sup>96</sup> For further details see Wright 1978: 81-5.

<sup>97</sup> A representative account is that of al-Širwānī (*majalla*: 127-32; D'Erlanger 4: 149-51).

distribution between them through the operations of chance. It might, accordingly, be concluded that by the end of the fifteenth century any influence this theory may previously have exerted had faded away, along with the relative decline, at least statistically, in the importance of the verse sections of songs, to leave finally no trace at all. But it must be conceded that this is only necessarily so if the concept of poetic and modal correspondence is interpreted in a rather literal and simplistic way, for it could equally well be the case that notions of a specific feeling being associated with a given mode still held sway among performers and audience alike, and that choice of mode would imply a particular inflection of the response to the words, a concentration on one area or another within the often subtle and complex emotional world of the verse.

#### 4.6.5. Subsequent developments

The case of *bastanigār*, discussed in 4.6.3, presents us with a mode that has moved decisively towards the form it will have in the seventeenth century. But despite this and other evident continuities the transition from the sixteenth- to the seventeenth-century system is as much characterized by change. Of the vast array of specific mode combinations and the looser but related sequences of modulations little remains, although the memory of a large number of *maḳāms* that had effectively been abandoned or temporarily absorbed by others during a period of possibly fluctuating definitions is preserved in Cantemir's theoretical treatise. Here we encounter a hierarchy, quite different to the in part cosmologically based one of the earlier period, in which *maḳāms* are opposed to *terkîbs* in such a way that the former provide a set of principal modes - those that are used for the section divisions in HP and the collection of 'Alî Ufî - while the latter, no longer on the same footing, constitute sets of related but subsidiary entities many of which are now deemed to be *ğayr-i müsta'mel*, 'unused'. Taken together with the abandonment of what the song-text collections show to have been the productive, even if not statistically significant, area of mode combinations, such a large area of obsolescence points to an important redistribution of resources, the centre gaining at the expense of the periphery.

That centre, as before, is made up largely of modes employing the *râst* pitch set, with smaller but still important segments based on the *hicâz* or diatonic pitch sets. However, since it is possible, through the extensive notations, to consider structure over a wider pitch range than that present in the sometimes restricted definitions of al-Lâḏiqî, it may be observed that the *hicâz* and diatonic pitch sets frequently co-occur with the *râst* pitch set, thus rendering its predominance even more marked than before. It appears in all the 13 modes which are most frequently cited by the combined collections of HP and Cantemir (listed in table 11, 3.5), and is, indeed, the sole constituent in no fewer than

nine.<sup>98</sup> The *hicâz* set, in contrast, appears in none of them and, in fact, is more likely to be encountered in a modulation section forming part of a composition in one of the 13 as it is in one of the modes of which it forms a basic element.

The above brief outline points to significant alterations in the balance between elements. But we may note, as an even more decisive shift in the composition and character of the system as a whole, that omitted from it now is any mention of the previously widespread phenomenon of compression and of the whole family of independent species of which it was a defining feature. These have been largely shed, together with, for example, the set of *râst*-related species, so that while (one form of) *pençgâh* could be described by al-Lâdiqî as *d c# c B# A G*, the pieces notated by Cantemir demonstrate that by the end of the seventeenth century this had developed further, being split into two phases, *d c B# A G* alternating with *d c# B# A G*. The latter, which exhibits a further contrasting change of scale structure, may in some pieces oust the former,<sup>99</sup> so that the mode is then fully integrated into the diatonic set. Elsewhere fragments of compressed scale-patterns may survive, but highly marginalized and existing, to adopt Cantemir's own distinction, not at the level of the *makâm* but at that of the *terkib*, note sequences such as *g f# f# d* or *d B B# A* being occasionally developed in modulation sections. But these too will soon disappear,<sup>100</sup> leaving no trace of an area previously represented by numerous modes which, even if not among those the song-text collections inform us were the most frequently used, are attested by them to have occurred regularly and to have constituted a significant element the disappearance of which by the mid seventeenth century marks a major change in the nature of the system as a whole.

#### 4.6.5.1. Order

It has already been noted (3.1) that the internal organization of HP is quite independent of former modal groupings: *şudûd* and *âwâzes* are now things of the past. While the choice of headings is relatable in a general way to Cantemir's *makâm* - *terkib* distinction, for an explanation of the particular order in which the modes are introduced account needs to be taken of their structure as described by

<sup>98</sup> The remaining four are *acem*, *pençgâh* and *bayatt*, which combine diatonic and *râst* pitch-set materials, and *şabâ*, which is based largely on the *râst* pitch set.

<sup>99</sup> As in Cantemir 1992: no. 321.

<sup>100</sup> They no longer occur, for example, in Cantemir's own pieces, nor are they to be identified with any of the *terkibs* he describes. Further, they already differ from the earlier compressed tetrachords in not having more than four notes, despite sharing the phenomenon of a divided whole-tone. (Theoretically, therefore, they could be innovations rather than survivals, in which case they might be better classified as chromatic: but given the loss of the earlier compressed scales it seems unlikely that they should be new additions.) However, if their absence from Cantemir's account suggests that by 1700 they had become marginal in Istanbul, they certainly survived well into the first half of the eighteenth century elsewhere, for the definitions of Arutin (1968: 82-93) include a number of modes, most spectacularly *sazkâr*, characterized by precisely such compressed scale features.

Cantemir and manifest in the notated repertoire. Two criteria emerge as dominant: the identity of the final, and intervallic structure. The former largely determines the first group, made up of modes, irrespective of their internal pitch-set composition, which have *G* as final: *râst*, *pençgâh*, *nîriz*, *mâhûr* and *rehâvî*. However, *pençgâh* is followed by a mode considered structurally related to it, *nişâbûr*, but distinguished by having *B* as final.<sup>101</sup> There follows a larger group with *A* as final, beginning with *şabâ* and going on after *çârgâh* (an interloper with *c* as final, presumably inserted here because of a perceived relationship with *şabâ*)<sup>102</sup> to include *hüseynî*, *muḥayyir*, *kûçek*, *nevâ*, 'uşşâk, *bayâtî* and 'arâzbâr. Intervallic structure determines the next group: all four modes (*nihâvent*, 'acem, *kürdî* and *bûselik*) contain segments based on the diatonic pitch set. These are followed by a further four *râst*-set modes which also have different finals, beginning with those in the lower register, 'aşîrân (*E*), 'îrâk and *evîç* (*F♯*), and then *segâh* (*B♭*) followed by *bestenigâr* (also *B♭*). The final group consists of four modes characterized by segments based on the *hicâz* pitch set ('uzzâl, *şehnâz*, *hicâz* and *hişâr*) among which is inserted, after *hicâz*, *zirgûle*.

Because these two criteria conflict (and can both be applied to the same mode) it is natural to find that there is no standardized order of presentation akin to that of the previous *şudûd* and *âwâz* sets. The most that can be said is that HP is employing an approach to classification used by earlier seventeenth-century compilers, and that if their collections are considered as a group, certain conventions in the application of these criteria emerge. The collections consist, in addition to that of 'Alî Ufkî, of various compilations of Hebrew *piyyutim* dating from 1587 to c. 1650.<sup>103</sup> Several of these begin, like HP, with *râst*, while others, in common with 'Alî Ufkî, prefer *hüseynî* or the related *dûgâh*. They also quite frequently exhibit mode pairings of the type *hüseynî* - *muḥayyir* or 'îrâk - *evîç* found in HP, that is, two modes with the same pitch set and final differentiated by one beginning in a higher register than the other. Accordingly, as in 'Alî Ufkî, *râst* may be followed by *mâhûr*, while the rather different pairing of *şabâ* and *çârgâh* is found not only in HP but also in one of the *piyyutim* collections and in 'Alî Ufkî's, which begins with a group of predominantly *râst* pitch-set modes with *A* as final (*hüseynî*, *muḥayyir*, *nevâ*, 'uşşâk and *bayâtî*) and then proceeds via *şabâ* and *çârgâh* to *râst*-set mode pairs with first *G* as final (*râst*, *mâhûr*) and then *F♯* (*evîç*, 'îrâk). The final group is again made up of modes based on other pitch sets (diatonic, *hicâz*).

It would be reasonable to see the same general principles also governing, if in a rather loose way, the order of presentation adopted in the later *gûfte mecmuaları*. These normally follow HP in beginning with *râst* and a

101 Cantemir, *edvâr*: 45.

102 On this relationship see Wright 1990.

103 Tabulated in Seroussi 1990a: 302.

group of modes with *G* as final. Thereafter, however, a degree of flexibility and lack of standardization may be observed, resulting naturally from the competing claims of the principles themselves on the one hand and, on the other, the variety of groupings possible among the multiplicity of new compound modes which frequently draw upon more than one pitch set.

Unlike the antecedent collections, HP offers no evidence regarding the frequency and extent of internal modulation sequences within pieces and the norms governing them. It contains just one piece, already referred to, in which the ancient category of the twelve *şudûd* modes appears, arranged in a traditional sequence, and *yeş âgâze*, which contains the six *âwâzes*. There are, unfortunately, no further references to modulation sequences that might enable us to determine whether the principles governing transitions that seemed to apply at earlier periods were still valid in the mid seventeenth century. An examination of this topic would need to be based squarely on the *edvâr* of Cantemir and on the evidence of the notations, and therefore lies beyond the scope of the present work. Here we may simply observe that, although few in number, instrumental pieces do exist comparable to the earlier vocal *kulliyât*, but that in them there is no canonical order to the modulations.

#### 4.6.6. After HP

It appears, therefore, that after a period of two to three centuries during which the modal system is marked by progressive enrichment and diversification, the documentation available for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicates, with the establishment of a specifically Ottoman tradition, a significant shift in direction, symbolized by the abandonment of the previously well-established scheme of classification. By the beginning of the seventeenth century we see the emergence of a new order in which various less common scalar possibilities have been further marginalized or, in some cases, abandoned. But order does not mean ossification: even within the increasingly dominant inherited core there are hesitations and disagreements over modal nomenclature and classification that can be related to constant developments in structure resulting in the creation of fresh modal entities and adjustments to already existing ones. The corpus of notations made by Cantemir contains pieces with the same mode label exhibiting markedly different characteristics,<sup>104</sup> and even if it is accepted that these are exceptional, and that the system as whole has reached a new stage of equilibrium or, rather, consensus, it should not be regarded as in any way closed or static.

It is clear that when compared with the earlier system, that of the late seventeenth century is recognizably Ottoman, that is, it exhibits obvious affinities with the modern Turkish system of which it is indisputably the direct

<sup>104</sup> Characteristic of *bayâtî*, for example, is the inclusion (sometimes frequent, sometimes sporadic) of *eh*, but in one piece (Cantemir 1992: no. 159) it fails to appear.

ancestor. Detailed comparison between the two stages cannot be undertaken here, but it should be emphasized that despite the undeniable broad continuity - many pieces notated by Cantemir would be immediately identified by a modern audience as being in the mode to which he assigns them - there are major developments suggesting that the unfortunately poorly-documented eighteenth century was also a period of dynamic change during which not only were a large number of new modal combinations coined, but the structure of some previously existing modes might have altered. Even something as fundamental as the system of pitch discriminations may have evolved, for if it is accepted that during the seventeenth century the intonation of such basic degrees as *segâh* and *evîç* still preserved earlier norms, being marginally but perceptibly lower than the current theoretical values,<sup>105</sup> it is probably to the eighteenth century that should be attributed at least the beginnings of the shift.

With regard to modal structure, two examples may serve to illustrate differences between seventeenth-century and modern norms. In *bayâtî d (nevâ)* and *A (dügâh)* were, as now, the most significant notes, with *d* being initially prominent and *A* the final, so that the core features remain the same. But others do not: *bayâtî* for Cantemir is also the name of *eb*, a pitch degree often introduced in a way quite foreign to the current conception of the mode, and although one might speculate that the standard modern modulation into *hicâz* on *d* (*d eb f# g*) is in some way connected, there is no evidence in Cantemir's notations for a juxtaposition of *eb* and *f#* being current in the seventeenth century: on one occasion, indeed, *eb* is juxtaposed to *eh*.<sup>106</sup> It may further be observed that when the melody rises to *g* or beyond we generally encounter, rather than *d e f g*, the equivalent of modern *d e f# g*. In *şabâ* we likewise find similarities, but also differences, both in melodic typology and pitch organization: whereas modern *şabâ* has a characteristic pitch the precise value of which is a matter of some debate,<sup>107</sup> but which is neither lower than *d#* nor higher than *d'*, in the seventeenth century we normally find *d* alternating with *db*. The latter pitch degree (to which the name *şabâ* is also attached) is sometimes restricted to cadence figures, and the melody in any case frequently omits the degree between *c* and *e*.

Pieces that survive into the modern period from the seventeenth century may on occasion retain unreconstructed modal elements,<sup>108</sup> but in general will conform with subsequent developments. A case in point is provided by *şey âğâze* where, in spite of all later melodic elaboration, it might have been anticipated that

<sup>105</sup> It is of interest, in this context, to note that the effectively just-intonation modern ideal for these is still not universally accepted: for example, During (1983: 86) reports Çinuçen Tanrıkorur as maintaining that in the mode *segâh* the pitch *segâh*, normally notated as *Bb*, should be a comma below just intonation.

<sup>106</sup> Cantemir 1992, no. 100, H1a 8.

<sup>107</sup> Signell 1986: 38, 45-6.

<sup>108</sup> For example, the original *d* retained in the latter part of a *peşrev* in *çargâh* (Cantemir 1992, no. 190; Heper 1974: 83).



in the context of the modulation through all six *āwāzes*, already obsolete in the seventeenth century, certain archaic features of modal structure would be retained along with the original specification of their names within the text. But even in the case of the first *āwāz*, *geveşt*, which has faded from the mode stock<sup>109</sup> and, therefore, has no clearly defined modern identity in terms of which earlier material would need to be reformulated, we find that the scale structure characteristic of this mode in the seventeenth century has been abandoned, hardly more than the initial insistence on the scale degree *segāh* surviving from its earlier form.<sup>110</sup>

With regard to the later expansion of the modal system little need be said here. Despite the caution provoked by the submergence, during the seventeenth century, of a number of modes noted earlier, but which no doubt continued to exist as marginal providers of modulatory material before resurfacing again in later song-text anthologies as fully-fledged, independent *makāms*,<sup>111</sup> it is incontestable that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there took place a considerable enlargement of the mode stock, in many cases as a result of reactivating the earlier technique, largely abandoned or downgraded during the seventeenth century, of creating new combinations in which familiar elements are recombined in novel sequences.<sup>112</sup> For several of these the tradition reports a creator (e.g. Selim III for *acem-buselik*), an interesting reversal of the situation obtaining at the very beginning of the period examined in this chapter, for the experience of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi indicates that musicians of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were, if anything, expected to demonstrate creativity not in the domain of mode but in that of rhythm.<sup>113</sup>

#### 4.7. Rhythm

If tracing the main developments in the modal system is hindered by the elliptical nature of some of the definitions theorists provide, the history of the system of rhythmic cycles ought to be a much easier topic, for the accounts given by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi, al-Lāḡiqi, Binā'i, *al-maṭla*, *al-muqaddima fi 'l-*

<sup>109</sup> It is absent from Özkan 1984 and Unkan 1984: according to Öztuna (1: 233) it was abandoned during the eighteenth century.

<sup>110</sup> In *al-maṭla* (fol. 10b) it is described as beginning and ending on *segāh*. Cantemir's definition (*edvār*: 51) is (using the corresponding modern pitch values)  $f\sharp e d c\sharp B\flat A\sharp G A\sharp B\flat$ , with which the notated example (Cantemir 1992: no. 284) is in accordance. In the modern form of *yeş dğāze*, however, the *geveşt* section ends with a *hicdız* tetrachord on A, which is the final.

<sup>111</sup> Hızır b. 'Abdullāh, for example, lists *zemzeme*, which fails to be mentioned by seventeenth-century sources, but reappears thereafter.

<sup>112</sup> Associated with this expansion may be the erosion of the *makām/terkīb* distinction. This is maintained in theory down to the end of the eighteenth century ('Abd ul-Bāki), but by the mid nineteenth century (Haşim Bey 1864) had finally been abandoned.

<sup>113</sup> He reports (*maqāzid al-alhād*: 96-7) his creation of various cycles at the behest of music-loving rulers.

*uṣūl*,<sup>114</sup> Qāsim b. Dōst 'Alī and Cantemir are full and, provided that a correct reading can be established, precise. In practice it tends to be rather elusive, partly because of abrupt and seemingly unmotivated discontinuities as some names emerge and disappear while others remain (but possibly relating to different cycles),<sup>115</sup> and partly because the technique of description itself changes. While retaining the traditional representational format of the circular diagram - the *adwārledvār* that go back to Šafī al-Dīn in the early thirteenth century - Cantemir introduces the quite novel notion of specifying what had probably been for some time the syllables used by practising musicians as mnemonics for the oral transmission of the cycles, not therefore the primarily durational strings of *ta* and *na(n)* which combine to form the constituent cells in terms of which earlier theorists speak, but the qualitatively differentiated *dūm*, *tek*, and *teke* which, instead of defining duration, serve to indicate contrasts of timbre (and in some later song-text anthologies will, indeed, be used alone, without the numerical definition of relative duration that Cantemir provides).

As before, no attempt will be made here to provide an exhaustive account of the field: attention will be concentrated on those areas to which the information contained in the song-text collections is relevant.

#### 4.7.1. The antecedent cycles

Of the three antecedent collections, NO/G is both the least informative and the most mysterious, for among the limited but at the same time random selection of cycle names that appear in it are at least five not encountered in the other antecedent anthologies. Equally significant, they are also absent from the theoretical literature. It has already been suggested that *far'-i muḥammad* may be equated with *far'*,<sup>116</sup> and it is equally possible that three of the remaining four may correspond to one or other of the several varieties of *muḥammad* and *turkī ḍarb* cited in treatises; but this is no more than conjecture, and there is, essentially, no means of telling whether they were specifically local forms (and, if so, whether of nomenclature, structure, or both) or marginal and short-lived additions to the system so lacking in importance that they failed to attract the attention of any theorist. With the wider coverage in Ox and S we are, fortunately, on firmer ground: the majority of the names they record can be matched in fifteenth-century treatises and, as before, the incidence of these cycles in the song-text collections

<sup>114</sup> İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS Fy 1097.

<sup>115</sup> There are quite marked differences, for example, between the accounts of al-Lāḍiqī and al-maṣla'. Thus for the latter *ramal-i ṣawīl* has 18 time units, *ramal-i qaṣīr* 14, *ḍar ḍarb* 30, *warāṣān* 12 and *ṣāḥīl* 14, while for the former they have 24, 10, 96, 16 and 10 respectively. (Instead of *warāṣān* al-Lāḍiqī has the form *barāṣān*, which will survive into the Ottoman tradition. The antecedent collections include both, but as their distribution is complementary it may be assumed that they are equivalent, referring to the same cycle. It may be noted that S: 94a exhibits the possibly intermediate form *wraṣ'n* (*twarawāṣān* or *warawāṣān*).

<sup>116</sup> See chapter 3, note 55.

can be used to shed light on how the range of structures defined by the theorists was used in practice.

Rather more clearly than with the modal system, the theoretical treatises themselves indicate that substantial changes had taken place in the stock of rhythmic cycles during the course of the century. There is a marked contrast, for example, between two approximately contemporary mid-fifteenth-century works, that by al-Širwānī being a conservative account largely reflecting the state of the system described by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī (who is quoted at length), while that by Ḥizir b. 'Abdallāh provides an independent account which omits some seven or eight of the cycles mentioned by al-Širwānī, and adds a comparable number of new ones.<sup>117</sup> Their total of approximately 25 is exceeded later in the century by al-Lādiqī, who describes 30, but subdivided into three categories: those in common use (18 in number); those rarely used (3); and those no longer used (9). It is with his list that the names which occur in Ox and S may most closely be matched. But the fit is by no means perfect, for the song-text collections contain five or six names more, and they also refer to two of the cycles dismissed by al-Lādiqī as no longer in use, indicating therefore that his report of their demise was somewhat premature.<sup>118</sup>

It would be wise, accordingly, in any brief characterization of the repertoire of rhythmic cycles he describes, to take account initially of all 30. If we set aside *hazaj sarī'*, which prolongs an older analytical tradition by embodying a basic indivisible unit underlying all possible cycles and is, therefore, not to be included among those normally occurring in practice,<sup>119</sup> and *muḥammad ṣaḡīr*, which represents essentially a slower form of unvarying pulse rather than a rhythmic cycle proper,<sup>120</sup> we find all told a surprising preponderance of long cycles. There are, counting each variant as a separate entity, six cycles with a total of fewer than 10 time units, ten with from 10 to 19, five with from 20 to 29, and no less than thirteen with 30 and above, including one of 88, one of 96, and one of 200. It might, nevertheless, be thought that the shorter cycles would constitute the backbone of the system, and that incidence would be in roughly inverse proportion to length, with the extremely long cycles being in consequence rare exotic creations whose existence was mainly confined to the

<sup>117</sup> Precise numbers cannot always be given as it is not clear whether certain forms are variants or independent cycles, and also because the relationship between two slightly different names in earlier and later works cannot always be established precisely. Three of the cycles listed by al-Širwānī but not by Ḥizir b. 'Abdallāh reappear in later accounts, but the remainder were presumably lost. The cycle names mentioned by the latter which appear in the antecedent collections are: *waraṣān*, *ḥafīf*, *fāḥīf*, *hazaj*, *ramal-i qaṣīr*, *ramal-i lawīl*, *laqlī*, *awsaṣ*, *turki ḡarb*, *ḡār ḡarb*, *rawān*, *samā'ī*, *ṣarandīz*, *ṣa ḡarb*, *rāḥkard*, *muḥammad*, *ḡarbāyān*, *far*.

<sup>118</sup> The cycles in question are *ḡarb al-jadīd* (read so and not, as in D'Erlanger 4: 497, *ḡarb al-ḡadīd*) and *ḡarb al-mī' atayn*, equivalent to the *dawr-i mī' atayn* of the anthologies.

<sup>119</sup> The antecedent song-text collections record just one fleeting instance of a *hazaj sarī'* (Ox 128: 10b) within the context of a sequence of rhythmic cycle changes.

<sup>120</sup> It is defined as consisting of four time units, but with only the first marked by a percussion (British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 88a).

theoretical treatises they adorned; indeed, it could even be suggested that some were unlikely to be more than notional entities bearing witness to the inventiveness of the author: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī prided himself on the creation, amongst others, of *ḡarb al-faḡḡ* (originally 50 time units) and *ḡarb al-mi' atayn* (200), and one might conjecture that devising extremely long cycles was considered a mark of ingenuity.<sup>121</sup>

The evidence of the song-text collections demonstrates, however, that there was no such relationship between length and popularity. Table 22 gives the number of occurrences of the six most common rhythmic cycles in Ox (including all instances where the cycle is named as the only, or principal, cycle in the piece, but excluding occurrences within subordinate sequences of cycle changes) together with the number of time units in each as defined by al-Lāḡiqī:

occurrences		time units
116	<i>se ḡarb</i>	16 or 32
92	<i>ḡafīf</i>	32
86	<i>'amal</i>	14
85	<i>ṡaqīl</i>	48
45	<i>awsaṡ</i>	12 or 24
40	<i>ṡār ḡarb</i>	96

Table 22

These are followed, after another steep drop in the incidence of occurrence, by a shorter cycle, *ṡarab angīz*, which is atypical in being restricted almost entirely to one specific segment of the repertoire, the Turkish-language *naḡṡ*,<sup>122</sup> but then by a further three cycles with an even higher average number of time units:

occurrences		time units
26	<i>ṡarab angīz</i>	10
11	<i>ḡarb al-faḡḡ</i>	88
9	<i>ramal-i ṡawīl</i>	24
8	<i>muḡajjal</i>	56

Table 23

<sup>121</sup> In the *jāmi' al-alḡān* (fols. 88b-89a) he mentions the creation of 20 cycles, but gives details of only five. Of the remaining three, one is again long (*ḡarb-i ṡāḡī* with 30 time units), but the other two (*ḡarb al-jadīd* with 14 time units and *qamariyya* with 9) are of more modest proportions.

<sup>122</sup> Although according to al-Lāḡiqī (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS T 4380, fol. 118a) most *naḡṡ* are in another short cycle, *rawān*. This might, therefore, have been more common than *ṡarab angīz*: that it was certainly very popular is specifically stated in the *risāla al-faḡḡiyya* (British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 86).

Of the remaining cycles none occurs more than four times, i.e. each one represents less, and often considerably less, than 1% of the total. Thus even if *se ǧarb* is counted as 16 rather than 32, cycles of more than 30 time units still constitute 44% of the total. Furthermore, of the four shortest cycles described by al-Lāḏiqī, *rawān* with eight time units,<sup>123</sup> *qamariyya* with nine,<sup>124</sup> and *turkī sari'* and *ǧanbar/hazaj ǧaǧīr*, each with six, the second and third are said to be no longer used,<sup>125</sup> and fail to appear in the song-text collections. The fourth, *ǧanbar*, is attested in Ox, but can hardly be said to have more than a token presence: it never occurs as the main cycle of a piece but is restricted to fleeting appearances in sequences of cycle changes. The testimony of the song-text collections thus demonstrates both that there were extremely wide variations in the popularity of various cycles and, unexpectedly, that the short cycles were the ones which tended to be marginal.

Immediately striking about the set of rhythmic cycles described by al-Lāḏiqī is its preference for one particular type of structure. Just as the modal system is dominated by modes utilizing the *rāst* pitch set, we encounter here a preponderance of cycles with a large number of time units grouped into binary cells (of 2, 4, or 8 time units). Al-Lāḏiqī is generally clear also in specifying that of the total number of time units a given number are marked by a percussion, the remainder not. The resulting patterns are in five of the ten most common cycles wholly made up of combinations of 2, 4, 8 or 16 time-unit elements, so that if 1 is rendered by  $\text{♩}$  we have:

<i>se ǧarb</i>	16 = 4 + 4 + 8	( $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ )
	32 = 8 + 8 + 16	( $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ )
<i>awsaṭ</i>	12 = 4 + 8	( $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ )
	24 = 8 + 16	( $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ )
<i>ǧār ǧarb</i>	96 = 8 + 8 + 16 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 8 <sup>126</sup>	( $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ )
<i>ǧarb al-faṭḥ</i>	88 = 4+4+2+2+2+4+2+4+4+4+2+4+2+4+4+8+8+8+2+2+4+8	( $\text{♩}$ )
<i>ramal ʔawīl</i>	24 = 4 + 4 + 8 + 8	( $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ $\text{♩}$ )

Table 24

<sup>123</sup> Or, according to the source used by D'Erlanger (4: 492), nine.


<sup>124</sup> Or, according to the source used by D'Erlanger (4: 497), five.


<sup>125</sup> British Library Or. 6629, fol. 87b.


<sup>126</sup> An alternative definition is added with further subdivisions:

8 + 8 + 4 + 8 + 4 + 8 + 8 + 4 + 8 + 4 + 8 + 8 + 8

The remaining five contain combinations of odd and even elements, although in three the use of 2 rather than 1 as the minimum unit means that the triple element appears not as 3 but as 6. These three cycles (which are in any case predominantly duple) also have in common the fact that the triple element is always introduced in the sequence 4+4+2+4+6 (with, in one, a following 6+6):

$$\text{hafif } 32 = 4 + 4 + 4 + 2 + 4 + 6 + 8$$


$$\text{taqil } 48 = 4 + 4 + 2 + 4 + 6 + 6 + 6 + 8 + 8$$


$$\text{muḥajjal } 56 = 2 + 4 + 2 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 2 + 4 + 6 + 8 + 8$$


$$\text{'amal } 14 = 4 + 5 + 5$$




$$\text{ṭarab angiz } 10 = 2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1$$


Table 25

For a triple rhythm one would have to turn to *turkī sarī'* (3+3), but this is classified by al-Lāḏiqī himself as defunct,<sup>127</sup> and it receives no mention in the song-text collections.

Evident from tables 24 and 25 is that the majority of the cycles which occur most frequently in the song-text collections are indeed lengthy, complex structures. But length does not always involve complexity, and it will readily be seen that three of the cycles in table 24, which account between them for 30% of the repertoire, may be analysed as fourfold (or eightfold) expansions, or retardations, of simple cycles of 3 (*awsaṭ* 1+2), 4 (*se ḍarb* 1+1+2), and 6 time units (*ramal ṭawīl* 1+1+2+2). Viewed thus, the paradox of the general sixteenth-century preference for enormously long rhythmic cycles over short ones may be partially resolved, but only at the cost of incorporating the notion of retardation, according to which it is postulated that originally short cycles have gradually slowed down (so that their duration is now comparable to that of other longer ones) but without their characteristic internal structure having been affected. Retardation, it may be argued, is in any case implicit in al-Lāḏiqī's symbolism:

<sup>127</sup> British Library Or. 6629, fol. 87b. Furthermore, its triple character is by no means assured: it is described (fol. 88a) as *tanān tanān*, each *t* being marked by a percussion, i.e. , with no indication of internal differentiation. However, what makes it probable that we are faced here with a cycle rather than a pulse intermediate in tempo between *ḥazaj sarī'* and *muḥammadas ṣaḡīr* is that if it were a pulse the second *tanān* would be redundant.

the pattern of percussions within the two cycles for which alternative versions are given is in each case identical, and we may therefore presume that the difference between them is straightforwardly one of relative tempo (although not necessarily in the strict 2 : 1 ratio the representation implies). Interestingly, the same ratio appears between al-Lāḍiqī's version of some of the other cycles and that found in earlier theoretical accounts. Al-Širwānī, for example, defines *ḥaff* as having 16 time units (as against 32 for al-Lāḍiqī), *taqīl* 24 (al-Lāḍiqī 48), and *čār ɖarb* 48 (al-Lāḍiqī 96). Al-Lāḍiqī's definitions are in these three cases divisible by two, that is, the internal proportions of e.g. *ḥaff* would remain the same when represented as:

$$16 = 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 \quad ( \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} )$$

corresponding closely to the earlier definition of al-Širwānī.<sup>128</sup> It is tempting to suggest that such parallels might indicate that here too the reason for the change is tempo, and that by the time of al-Lāḍiqī these three cycles had become slower, relative to others, to the extent that a more realistic representation required a doubling of the number of time units, which were conceived of not merely in relation to the internal structure of the cycle<sup>129</sup> but also, if in a very approximate way, to the notion of a *tactus*. We would then have a fifteenth-century analogy to the process of deceleration that may be inferred for certain sectors of the Ottoman instrumental repertoire during the eighteenth century.<sup>130</sup> Matters are complicated, however, by the fact that we do not simply encounter what appears to be a contrast between a faster earlier version and a slower later one, for two or three definitions of differing length may be offered by the same theorist. Binā'ī, for example, provides in relation to *čār ɖarb* three versions (*sağır*, *awsağ* and *kabır*) with, respectively, 24, 48 and 96 time units,<sup>131</sup> and as the same specification is added in each with regard to the particular fingers with which the various percussions are associated it is evident that we are dealing with three versions of the same cycle differentiated only by relative tempo, thus warning us to be wary of drawing facile diachronic conclusions from the evidence supplied by al-Lāḍiqī. Nevertheless, the different ways in which he represents various cycles certainly suggest that some were normally performed at a slower tempo than others. Unfortunately, if there was such a contrast it fails to be reflected in the song-text collections. Interpretation of the syllable strings relating to changes of rhythmic cycle is by no means easy, but at the very least it can be

<sup>128</sup> *majalla*: 177: 2+2+2+3+3+4 (♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩).

<sup>129</sup> Not exactly parallel, therefore, but certainly similar in its effect on the performance time of the cycle, is the increase in the length of *ɖarb al-faḥ*, which from an earlier 50 time units had swollen by the time of al-Lāḍiqī (British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 86b) to its subsequently canonic total of 88.

<sup>130</sup> On which see Wright 1988.

<sup>131</sup> *risāla dar mūsīqī*: 116-119.

said that any expectation of a markedly greater number of syllables being assigned to the presumed slower cycles is not fulfilled.

#### 4.7.1.1. Combinations

The technique of changing rhythmic cycle during the course of a composition is a feature which theorists discuss specifically in relation to the form *kull al-durūb*.<sup>132</sup> As the name implies, all the rhythmic cycles should be introduced, although in practice, no doubt, only a selection might sometimes be used, and the form is an obvious equivalent to the *kull al-naḡam*, in which various melodic modes are paraded. As far as sixteenth-century practice is concerned, the evidence of the song-text collections indicates that, while the form as such can hardly be said to exist, the technique of changing cycle in mid-composition was quite widely used, in some cases a number of such changes being introduced after a similar sequence of modulations (see 2.5.6.3).

One clearly definable subgroup of pieces in which cycle changes occur is recorded in Ox (Ouseley 127: 92a-94a, 113a). All except one are in *se ḡarb*, but contain an extra *ḡazal* verse section set in one or other of *ṣarab angiz* and *dawr-i mi'atayn* or in two cases, indeed, in both. But the one or two changes of rhythmic cycle exhibited here are far fewer than the average encountered elsewhere, and the number may even reach a total of 15 or more. Unfortunately, one can do little more than register such statistics, for if it seems possible to discern a general principle of organization to which many if not most of the modulation sequences conform, the same is not the case for the rhythmic cycle sequences. No particular pattern is detectable: there appear to be neither specific associations (despite the occasional juxtaposition of *ṣaḡīl* and *ḡaḡīf*) nor strings that might be interpretable in terms of arithmetic relationships (whether of similitude or contrast) based on the number of time units in the cycles. Thus we find in Ox Ouseley 127: 31a, for example, the sequence '*amal* (the initial cycle, 14 time units), *turki ḡarb* (14?),<sup>133</sup> *ṣaḡīl* (48), *ḡaḡīf* (32), *muḡammas* (8/16), *ḡār ḡarb* (96), *baraḡṣān* (16), *fāḡīl* (10), *awsaṭ* (12/14), *far'* (12?)<sup>134</sup> and *hazaj* (6?);<sup>135</sup> and in Ouseley 128: 10b the sequence *ṣaḡīl* (48), *ḡaḡīf* (32), *awsaṭ* (12/14), *se ḡarb* (16/32), *ramal-i ṣawīl* (24), *ramal-i qaṣīr* (24), *jarr* (24), *ḡār ḡarb* (96),

<sup>132</sup> See e.g. *maqāṣid al-alḡān*: 104.

<sup>133</sup> It will be noted that the search for some kind of organizing principle is rendered more difficult by the fact that for the sixteenth century the number of time units is not always certain. Thus for al-Lāḡīqī (British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 85a) *turki ḡarb* is another name for '*amal*', whereas here the sequence only makes sense if it is a different cycle.

<sup>134</sup> *far'* does not appear in al-Lāḡīqī's list, but is defined by Ḥizir b. 'Abdullāh as having 12 time units. In the seventeenth century, however, it has 16.

<sup>135</sup> Al-Lāḡīqī has a *hazaj ṣaḡīr* of 6 time units, but it is by no means certain that this is the cycle intended here, particularly as he classifies it among the ancient rather than the modern cycles (British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 81a): in the seventeenth century *hazaj/hezec* has 22 time units.



*barqfšān* (16), *samā'ī* (10), *šarab angiz* (10), *sarī' al-hazaj* (1?),<sup>136</sup> *muhajjal* (56), *darb al-faḥ* (88), *sarandāz* (14), *fāhiī* (10), *'amal* (14), and *dawr-i mi' atayn* (200). Setting aside the possibly deliberate nature of the occasional switch to a cycle with the same number of time units as the preceding one, only wishful thinking would discern here some kind of organization: the essential guiding principle appears to be caprice.

In the event, it is rather more interesting, particularly in relation to Ox, which is largely organized according to rhythmic cycle groupings, to observe the stratification between the more and less common cycles, for some of the latter only appear in such modulation sequences. The question therefore arises as to whether these were considered secondary, variant forms or whether they were either cycles the popularity of which had decreased to the extent that they only survived in such specialist environments or, alternatively, new structures that were just beginning to be introduced but were not yet sufficiently well established to be acceptable as the only cycle employed throughout a composition. If we disregard internal cycle sequences, the cycles listed in tables 22 and 23 provide for 96% of the repertoire, leaving the remaining 4% to be divided out among a further 13 cycles, no less than seven of which make but one appearance each. Within the internal cycle sequences, however, a very different picture emerges. The cycles listed in tables 22 and 23 now provide only 49% of the entries, and the remainder are distributed as set out in table 26. As already noted, *dawr-i mi' atayn* has a particular association with the *gazzal* section of *se darb* pieces. But the distribution of the remaining cycles suggests no clear pattern (and nothing would be gained by referring to S, for although differing in certain details it presents fundamentally the same distribution as Ox). Certainly, no distinction can be drawn in levels of utilization between those cycles that will later disappear, such as *sarandāz* and *dawr-i mi' atayn*, and those that are just emerging, such as *hāwī* and *duyak*, even if the use of *hāwī* only as a principal cycle does indicate that emergence did not have to be channelled through cycle sequences. Perhaps the most important observation to be made about the prominence given in them to otherwise rare or never used cycles is, therefore, that it may point not to some kind of evolution or shift in the relative importance of this cycle or that, but to an area of professional specialization, the cycle sequences providing an opportunity for the musician to demonstrate his mastery of the less-known reaches of the system.

A further area of uncertainty, and one which theoretical treatises do nothing to clarify, concerns the practicalities of such cycle sequences. It is reasonable to assume, at least where the very long cycles are concerned, that each one appeared only once, for otherwise the composition would become inordinately long. As an extreme example we may take Ox 128: 10b, in which the

<sup>136</sup> Again, it is by no means certain that al-Lādiqī's basic indivisible unit, an essentially theoretical concept, is what is meant here.

## WORDS WITHOUT SONGS

	occurrences in cycle sequence	occurrences as only/principal cycle
<i>ramal-i qaşır</i>	2	4
<i>nīm taqıl</i>	1	4
<i>fāḥitī</i>	4	3
<i>muḥammas</i>	2	3
<i>jarr</i>	3	2
<i>rikāb</i>	-	2
<i>dawr-i mi'atayn</i>	7	1
<i>waraşān/barafşān</i>	6	1
<i>sarandāz</i>	2	1
<i>ḍarb al-jadīd</i>	1	1
<i>ḍarbayn</i>	-	1
<i>far'-i turkī-yi aşı</i>	-	1
<i>ḥāwī</i>	-	1
<i>rawān</i>	3	-
<i>duyak</i>	2	-
<i>far'</i>	2	-
<i>hazaj</i>	2	-
<i>samā'(ī)</i>	2	-
<i>turkī ḍarb</i>	2	-
<i>čanbar</i>	1	-
<i>ḍarb al-qadīm</i>	1	-
<i>jarr-i fāḥitī</i>	1	-
<i>sarī' al-hazaj</i>	1	-
<i>turkī-yi aşı</i>	1	-

(No account is taken of the terminological equivalences indicated by al-Lāḍiqī.)

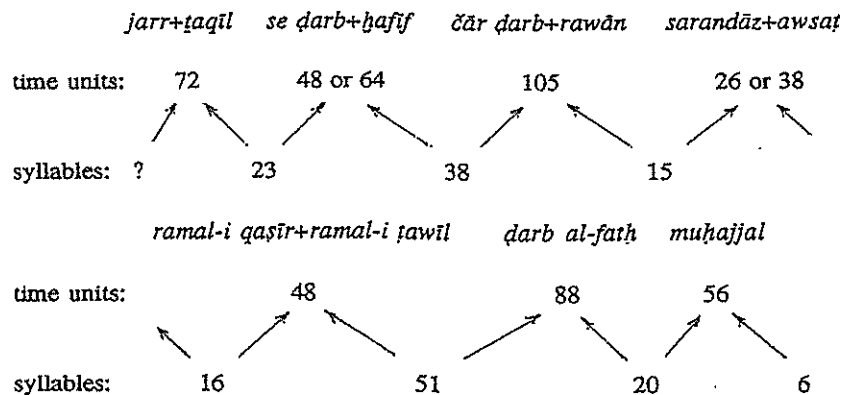
Table 26

sequence of 18 cycles, listed above, includes *čār ḍarb*, *muḥajjal*, *ḍarb al-faḥ* and *dawr-i mi'atayn*, providing between them, according to al-Lāḍiqī's definitions, no less than 440 time units. But elsewhere the possibility cannot be ruled out that each cycle in the sequence might have been repeated. The only evidence we have, the number of sung syllables allotted to the cycle, is inconclusive, for in principle the whole string could be repeated with it. There is, however, at least one case in which several of the rhythmic cycles are paired (Ox 127: 30b = S: 118a),<sup>137</sup> and here it follows from the logic of the

<sup>137</sup> The pairings are: *jarr* + (ma'a) *taqıl*, *se ḍarb* + *ḥaṣṭi*, *čār ḍarb* + *rawān*, *sarandāz* + *awsaf*, *ramal-i qaşır* + *ḥawī*, followed by *ḍarb al-faḥ* and *muḥajjal*.

presentation that each pair would need to be repeated at least once before moving on to the next, since otherwise there would be nothing to distinguish the pairs from a simple sequence of different cycles occurring once each. Given that in nearly every case the number of syllables is inferior to the number of time units, it is likely that each pair repetition would entail parallel melodic repetition.

In relating syllables to time units, in principle an elementary matter, it is necessary first of all to determine the order of events. The commonsense assumption would be that the relevant syllable string is the one following the cycle name(s). But as the section in which the sequence is placed starts and ends with a syllable string rather than a cycle name it is logically equally possible that the name could follow the relevant syllables, the final string then being a reversal to the original cycle of the whole piece. We thus have two possible relationships, which may be set out as follows:



Assuming a broadly comparable relationship from cycle to cycle, there is clearly a better fit if the relevant syllable string is the one preceding the cycle name(s), and we have, accordingly, an approximate 2 : 1 ratio of time units to syllables. That this interpretation is correct is suggested by parallel practice in modulation sequences, where (G: 5b) the positioning of the punctuation symbol clearly marks the units as syllable string + mode name, not mode name + syllable string,<sup>138</sup> and is confirmed by S: 107b, in which the final cycle name is followed not by a syllable string but by the term *duḥūl*, indicating the onset of a fresh section which would almost certainly revert to the original cycle of the piece.

<sup>138</sup> Similarly with a later vocal composition such as *yeṣ āḡdze*, in which both the seventeenth-century text and the modern notation give the mode name at the end of the relevant modulation. (The notation also incorporates the mode name into the sung text, therefore raising the possibility that the changes of rhythmic cycle could have been similarly identified in the text of the composition.)

The relationship between the number of syllables and the (presumed) number of time units varies somewhat from sequence to sequence, but there are only a few instances where the number of syllables is higher. Generally it is lower, and the question then arises of the relationship of melodic articulation to rhythmic cycle, an issue on which the great bulk of the material in the song-text collections is inevitably quite opaque. Evidence drawn from sources both earlier (the notations of Qutb al-Dīn al-Širāzī and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī) and later (the notations of 'Alī Ufki) suggests that syllable material was not treated melodically (indeed, that the same pitch might be maintained through a number of syllables), and the lack of prolongation syllables in the presentation of such material in NO/G would tend to confirm that such was also the case for the antecedent tradition. In relation to the cycle sequences where there are fewer syllables than time units, therefore, one or more of the following conclusions may be drawn: the syllable strings (or parts of them) were repeated to fill up the cycle; there were extensive pauses; some syllables were extended over more than one time unit. The first two are less likely: there is no instance of the use of a symbol for repetition within any of the cycle sequences; and reference to both earlier and later sources suggests that pauses were likely to have been very few and far between. We are left, therefore, with a probable distribution not dissimilar to that of the syllable material exhibited in exs. 5 and 6, where the duration of each syllable varies between a half and four time units, with that of the great majority being one or two, and the likelihood is, in consequence, that the average tempo was also not too far removed from what might be guessed at in relation to exs. 5 and 6; that is, on the assumption that the incidence of attacks has remained approximately the same, something distinctly brisker in certain cycles than the average in modern performance practice, where a single (non-verse) syllable may be spread over as many as five or six pitch changes compressed within a single time unit.

#### 4.7.2. Subsequent developments

As with the system of melodic modes, if in rather different ways, the corpus of rhythmic cycles current in the mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman tradition is in several respects strikingly dissimilar to that encountered in the antecedent tradition. Increasingly apparent is the replacement of earlier names of cycles by new ones, and just as striking is the fact that such gains and losses are by no means confined to the periphery of the system for, as already noted, the most frequently occurring sixteenth-century cycle, *se darb*, is conspicuously absent from the repertoire of seventeenth-century cycles, while one of the most common seventeenth-century cycles, *devr-i kebīr*, is a newcomer to the scene. The total range of names is displayed in table 27. The immediate visual impression this gives of a slight shrinkage through time in the total number of

1	2	3
antecedent only	common	seventeenth century only
'amal	<i>bereşan</i>	<i>devr-i hindî</i>
<i>çâr darb</i>	<i>şenber</i>	<i>devr-i kebîr</i>
<i>darb al-jadîd</i>	<i>darb-i fetîh</i>	<i>nîm devr-i kebîr</i>
<i>darb al-qadîm</i>	( <i>darbeyn</i> )	<i>evfer</i>
<i>dawr-i mi'atayn</i>	<i>düyek</i>	<i>frenkçin</i>
<i>diwân</i>	<i>evsaş</i>	( <i>h<sup>w</sup>arazm</i> ) <sup>139</sup>
<i>far'-i far'</i>	<i>fahte</i>	<i>nîm devîr</i>
<i>far'-i türk darb</i>	<i>fer'</i>	<i>semâ'i-i lenk</i>
<i>far'-i türki-yi aşl</i>	<i>fer'-i muhammes</i>	<i>sofyan</i>
<i>farruh darb</i>	<i>hafif</i>	( <i>yek darb</i> ) <sup>140</sup>
<i>jarr</i>	<i>hâvî</i>	<i>zencir</i>
<i>jarr-i fâhîti</i>	<i>hezec</i>	
<i>jarr-i hafif</i>	<i>muhammes</i>	
<i>jarr-i mahfûf</i>	<i>nîm şakîl</i>	
<i>muhajjal</i>	<i>remel</i>	
<i>nişf-i muhammas</i>	( <i>devr-i</i> ) <i>revân</i>	
<i>râhkard</i>	<i>şakîl</i>	
<i>ramal-i qaşîr</i>	<i>semâ'i</i>	
<i>ramal-i şawîl</i>	<i>türki darb</i>	
<i>rikâb</i>		
<i>sarandâz</i>		
<i>sarî' al-hazaj</i>		
<i>se darb</i>		
<i>şarab angîz</i>		
<i>türki-yi aşl</i>		

Table 27

cycles in current use is somewhat misleading. It should be recalled that the terminology of the fifteenth-century theorists and the compilers of the antecedent song-text collections is by no means uniform, and it may well be that not every entry listed in columns 1 and 2 denoted a wholly independent structure. Some

<sup>139</sup> Listed by Cantemir (*edvâr*: 96), who defines it as a 14 time-unit cycle. It is possibly to be identified with a variation of *devr-i revân* used in the vocal repertoire. There is, however, no mention of it in HP.

<sup>140</sup> Cantemir (*edvâr*: 96) inscribes this name at the centre of a circle, but omits any definition. As with *h<sup>w</sup>arazm*, it is possible that we are dealing with an otherwise unrecorded variant of another cycle. Alternatively, the single percussion suggested by the name might be a late echo of the earlier theorists' notion of an underlying pulse.

may represent no more than minor variations of the same cycle, while the sources themselves indicate that certain names were equivalent: for Ox (128: 101b) *jarr* is the same as *nim şakıl*, while al-Lâdiqî equates *jarab angiz* with *diwân*<sup>141</sup> and 'amal with *turki darb*.<sup>142</sup> The absolute number of losses may, therefore, not have greatly exceeded the later gains.

Even more misleading, however, is column 2, which conceals as much as it reveals. Perhaps the most significant point to be made about it is that the great majority of the entries are of marginal significance in either or both of the antecedent and Ottoman traditions. Of the six most frequent cycles in Ox (listed in table 22), which between them account for 86% of the mainstream sixteenth-century vocal repertoire,<sup>143</sup> only two, *şakıl* and *hafif*, appear in column 2, and only one, *şakıl*, is equally prominent in the seventeenth century: the other four have simply vanished. Further, all of the other entries in column 2, however important they might later become, are decidedly marginal in the system represented in the antecedent anthologies. It must also be pointed out that the survival of a name does not necessarily guarantee the survival of the same rhythmic structure: *çenber*, for example, is defined as a 6 time-unit cycle by al-Lâdiqî and as a 12 time-unit cycle by Cantemir, suggesting the possibility of a clear derivational relationship, but in other cases the link is by no means as obvious: for al-Lâdiqî, again, *semâ'i* has 10 time units, for Cantemir 6,<sup>144</sup> while for *evsa* the respective figures are 12 or 24 versus 26; for *revân* 9 versus 14; for *remel* 24 versus 28; and the 22 time units of the seventeenth-century *hezec* are matched by no earlier definition. On the other hand, it may also be the case that the survival of a cycle is concealed behind a change of name: it is possible that *jarab angiz* reappears later in the guise of *semâ'i-i lenk*,<sup>145</sup> and just conceivable (see 4.7.2.2) that *devr-i kebîr* is derived from *sarandâz*. Nevertheless, it is clear that the impression of continuity in bulk suggested by column 2 is illusory: the seventeenth-century system is to a very considerable extent different from its sixteenth-century predecessor both in its structures and its preferences. This may most readily be seen by comparing with tables 22 and 23 table 28, containing a list of the ten most common late-seventeenth-century

141 D'Erlanger 4: 487; British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 85a.

142 *ibid.* He also confirms the identification of *jarr* (*taqıl*) with *nim şakıl* (fol. 86a).

143 The comparable figure for S is not quite as high, but at 81% still overwhelming.

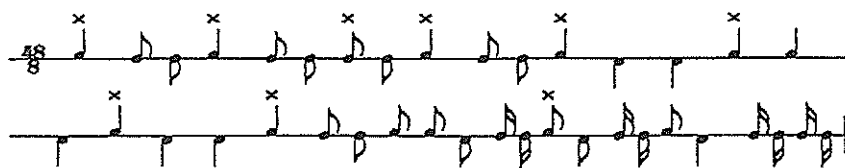
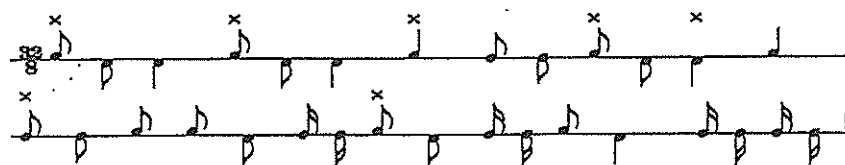
144 Al-Lâdiqî's *semâ'i* (D'Erlanger 4: 491; British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 86a) has the same number of time units as Cantemir's *semâ'i-i lenk* (although not the same internal pattern of percussions). However, it is evident, both from the instrumental repertoire recorded by Cantemir and from the vocal repertoire recorded by 'Alî Ufkî, that the equivalent seventeenth-century form, in terms of popularity, is not *semâ'i-i lenk* but the 6 time-unit cycle *yâtrık semâ'i*.

145 Al-Lâdiqî's *semâ'i* has 10 time units also, but the percussion pattern of the seventeenth-century cycle is identical with that of *jarab angiz*, which may therefore have ousted the other cycle, taking over its name in the process.

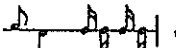
occurrences	% of the répertoire		number of time units
277	22.5	<i>semâ'i</i>	6
120	9.8	<i>şakîl</i>	48
102	8.3	<i>düyek</i>	8
98	8	<i>çenber</i>	12
79	6.4	<i>evfer</i>	9
76	6.2	<i>devr-i revân</i>	14
66	5.4	<i>muhammes</i>	16
65	5.3	<i>devr-i kebîr</i>	14
42	3.4	<i>hafîf</i>	32
32	2.6	<i>fahîe</i>	10

Table 28

cycles, which account between them for some 78% of the whole repertoire.<sup>146</sup> From the marked differences between them it may be concluded that continuity was the exception rather than the rule: as noted, the only prominent common elements are *şakîl* and *hafîf* (and the latter is now significantly less often used than before). In these two cases continuity of structure as well as name can be discerned. A comparison of the definitions offered by al-Lâdiqî and Cantemir may most readily be effected by marking x those percussions in Cantemir's account which correspond to the onset of the various cells making up al-Lâdiqî's version (listed in 4.7):

*şakîl**hafîf*

<sup>146</sup> That is, the vocal repertoire as represented in HP plus the instrumental repertoire as represented in Cantemir.

It cannot be fortuitous that in *şakıl* only one *x* is not aligned with a *düm* percussion, and that only one *düm* percussion of duration  $\downarrow$  does not have a corresponding *x*, and it is clear, therefore, that in this case the internal structure of the sixteenth-century form has been largely preserved. The fit between the two versions of *hafif* is not quite as close, but still sufficient to demonstrate a clear historical connexion. The match between *x* and *düm* is perfect for the first 14 time units, if poor thereafter: to be suspected is a later adjustment of time units 15-20 producing in 13-20 a repeat of 5-12 and, at the same time, coincidence with the corresponding segment in *şakıl*: the two cycles are identical over their last 18 time units. In both cases the number of percussions in Cantemir's definition greatly exceeds the number of cells in al-Lādiqī's, particularly over the last 10 time units, but since the relationship between the number of cells and the normal pattern of percussions in the sixteenth century is not absolutely clear no firm conclusions can be drawn. Al-Lādiqī is quite specific in defining those time units which were not marked by a percussion as well as those which were, and in the case of one cycle, *çār çarb*, distinguishes different strokes made by the whole hand, thumb, or individual fingers, although one may suspect that this is more a device for interiorizing the structure of an exceedingly long cycle than an indication of consistently maintained distinctions of timbre.<sup>147</sup> Elsewhere such contrasts are not usually indicated, and it is reasonable to suspect that what he provides in the case of such cycles as *şakıl* and *hafif* is no more than a basic form (articulated as far as we can tell by just one undifferentiated percussion timbre) which is unlikely to have been encountered often in practice where, we may assume, further time units would normally be marked in such a way as to produce contrastive patterns akin to those described by Cantemir. Of the number, nature and distribution of such supplementary percussions we have, however, no knowledge. In several of Cantemir's definitions cycles end, like *şakıl* and *hafif*, with the formula ,

but whether this is a seventeenth-century innovation or was a conventional way of articulating the end of cycles already in the sixteenth century cannot be determined. It is, therefore, impossible to tell whether the considerably greater number of percussions in Cantemir's definitions merely reflects a new attitude to description according contrast of timbre an importance hitherto denied it. If so, the normal form of these two cycles, *şakıl* especially, may have changed but little since the time of al-Lādiqī: at most one might think of a former fluidity in adding supplementary percussions having solidified into one generally accepted pattern. If not, the later form could reflect a further stage of retardation, the gaps of the previous bare outline becoming too long to be accepted without internal punctuation. There is little to be gleaned from the song-text anthologies that

<sup>147</sup> D'Erlanger 4: 487; British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 84b.



might help us decide," but what information there is points, if anything, towards a modest degree of retardation and suppletion. If exs. 5 and 6 are thought typical of seventeenth-century compositions containing considerable amounts of syllable material - and there is no reason to think that they were not - the eight syllable-dominated cycles suggest that we may expect to find an average relationship of two syllables to three time units. For the sixteenth century, however, it appears that the syllable average in cycle change sequences was likely to have been slightly lower, so that the consumption of an equivalent amount of verbal (and melodic) material - assuming stylistic uniformity - would require a slightly faster tempo. It must be conceded, however, that the evidence on this point is scanty and by no means conclusive.

Striking, at any rate, is the fact that *şakîl* and *hafîf* have by far the highest number of time units among the cycles listed in table 28. The average number of time units per cycle is 17, but if these two are disregarded it sinks to 11, whereas the comparable figure for tables 22 and 23, even taking the lower of the two values for *se dârb* and *awsat*, is no less than 39.5. To explain such a rapid and extreme reduction we may at least entertain the notion of a process of retardation resulting in certain already long fifteenth-century cycles becoming so unwieldy that they were eventually abandoned in favour of shorter, simpler cycles, casualties of evolution unable to survive the effects of their ever-increasing size. But if such a hypothesis would account for the extinction of such mastodons as *şâr dârb* and *muḥajjal*, it must be conceded that the survival of the equally gigantic *dârb-i fetîḥ* runs counter to it, and that in any case it can only have operated selectively rather than globally, for although among the surviving shorter cycles *çenber* also shows a doubling of the number of time units, *warâşân/berefsân* remains stable at 16, while *faḥte* even shows - assuming the seventeenth-century form to be a direct derivation - a reduction from 20 to 10.

#### 4.7.2.1 Combinations

A further feature that survives, if only in attenuated form, is the sequence of cycle changes. It is in this particular context that we encounter for the first time in the antecedent tradition some of the names that will later become prominent, but at the same time also rare cycles that will disappear, taking with them the unpredictable and apparently patternless variety of the sixteenth-century sequences.<sup>148</sup> In its place we find just one set structure, *zencir* ('chain'), a tidily ordered five-member series made up of *düyek* (8) + *faḥte* (10) + *çenber* (12) + *devr-i kebîr* (14) + *berefsân* (16). This further differs from its sixteenth-century

<sup>148</sup> One eighteenth-century *güfte mecmuası* has a *kâr* (Topkapı MS Revan 1723, fol. 8) containing one such sequence: *nîm faḥte* (?10 time units) + *düyek* (8) + *devr-i ravân* (14) + *samâ'i* (6) + *berefsân* (16) + *nîm faḥte* (?10), but this seems to be quite exceptional.

predecessors in being construed as a single cycle, however complex, like any other, and is therefore not restricted to any one part of a piece but is used throughout. Otherwise, change of cycle is restricted to *darbeyn*, another normative sequence made up of the last two constituent cycles of *zencir*, and to one particular and evidently exceptional instrumental composition in which each section, *hâne*, is in a different cycle.<sup>149</sup>

From such varied and contradictory developments no fundamental principle of change (or continuity) can readily be discerned. That what may well have been an area of experiment and invention should be replaced by a single uniform structure is just as inexplicable a change as those that affect the remainder of the system, suggesting, indeed, that the very word may be a misnomer, at least from a diachronic perspective. In this regard confusion rather than clarity is served by the differing analytical techniques adopted by earlier and later sources, and these can in themselves be interpreted as indicative of a conceptual cleavage between the two periods.

Such contrasts, whatever their significance, also invite caution elsewhere. What has been interpreted, however guardedly, as a potential indication of retardation, the increase in the number of percussions specified by Cantemir as compared with what can be inferred from the earlier theorists, might even be seen as a concomitant of this change of perception. The previously mentioned final formula, for example, which occurs in no less than eight cycles, could have been an element of vital importance to the other performers, for whom it provided a clear signal of the approaching end of these cycles (especially as it occurs nowhere else within them), and it may have been that Cantemir, whose approach is empirical as well as theoretical, recorded it for this very reason; but for earlier theorists, still influenced by the analytical concept of the *fâşıla* - the 'disjunction' between the last essential constituent percussion of one cycle and the onset of the next - it might, if it existed at the time, have been a matter of indifference, material of no intrinsic significance filling space between percussions marking conceptually prior time units within the cycle that served to define it as a unique structure. Accordingly, the increase in the number of percussions recorded in relation to the number of time units in a cycle does not necessarily of itself signal retardation.

#### 4.7.2.2. Replacement

The above should be considered no more than an exploratory survey of certain aspects of the convoluted relationships between the repertoires of rhythmic cycles occurring in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The major

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<sup>149</sup> Cantemir 1992: no. 73.

contribution of the predominantly statistical information conveyed by the song-text collections is to point up the fragility of the connexions between the two, demonstrating that what survives from the earlier one tends to have been, quite unexpectedly, a number of marginal (shorter) cycles that gradually come to the fore as the earlier core (longer) cycles were abandoned.

We may conclude with an equally unexpected detail. In both periods we encounter the concept of *darbeyn*, a pair of cycles that alternate throughout a composition. In the seventeenth century this has the conventional form of *devr-i kebîr* (14 time units) followed by *berefsan* (16), while the one instance noted in Ox (128: 5b) consists of *waraşân* (16) followed by *sarandâz* (14). Coincidence, perhaps, but it is just possible that we have here a clue to the origin of *devr-i kebîr*, although if so it would represent not only a change of name mentioned by no theorist but also a change of internal structure, for unlike *şakîl* and *hafîf* the sixteenth-century cell organization does not align itself with the percussion pattern found in the seventeenth century.<sup>150</sup> More likely, it could be argued, is the notion of various slots in the range of time-unit totals that are likely to be filled by new creations as old forms are relinquished. Thus *se darb*, as noted above, can be analysed as a vastly elongated/retarded version of a four time-unit cycle the individual identity of which is provided by the omission of a percussion from one time unit, in this case the fourth: 4 | ♪ ♪ ♪ | → 16 | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ |. In its absence, a century later, we may regard the equally common *düyek* as in some sense its substitute, the filler of the same slot in the system: it can be analysed as a less retarded version of the same basic structure, the identity of the cycle now being provided by the omission of the second time unit, which is then amplified or decorated by means of subdivision and qualitative alteration affecting the first 2 (→ 4) time units: 4 | ♪ ♪ ♪ |

→ 8 | ♪ ♪ ♪ | → 8 | ♪ ——— ♪ ——— |. Similarly, it may not be too

fanciful to conjecture that the original basic triple metre (3 | ♪ ♪ | → 12 | ♪ ♪ ♪ |) of *awsaṭ*, distended and then completely lost as, for reasons that appear totally obscure, it is further enlarged in its seventeenth-century manifestation from a 12 or 24 time-unit cycle to one of 26,<sup>151</sup> regains its niche in the system in the form of (*yürük*) *semâ'î*, made up of two differentiated forms

of the basic cell: 3 + 3 | ♪ ♪ | ♪ ♪ | → 6 | ♪ ——— ♪ ——— |.

<sup>150</sup> For al-Lâdiqî (D'Erlanger 4: 490-1; British Library MS Or. 6629, fol. 85b) *sarandâz* (and not, as in D'Erlanger, *sah-andâr*) is 2 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 4, while *devr-i kebîr* is essentially an *aksak* cycle, stateable as 3 + 4 + 3 + 4 or 3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 2. For an alternative suggestion as to a possible origin see Wright 1988: 77-80.

<sup>151</sup> Divided, moreover, into two symmetrical *aksak* sections of 13.

## 4.7.3. After HP

With all due reserve, given the difficulties of interpretation that have been encountered, it would be not unreasonable to echo, in relation to the development of the rhythmic cycles, what has been said in 4.6.6 with regard to the modes. Indeed, the themes of significant change followed by a reordering of the system in the seventeenth century, and subsequent continuity combined with expansion, seem to deserve reiterating with even greater force in relation to the history of the rhythmic cycles. To all appearances those of the antecedent tradition have been either replaced or have had their relative prominence fundamentally reordered, the dominance of what are defined as extremely long cycles yielding to that of much shorter ones, the most common of which is a six time-unit cycle unknown before.<sup>152</sup> Once this radical transformation had been completed the result is not merely something instantly recognizable as Ottoman, but a set of cycles many of which have remained structurally unchanged, maintaining the same characteristic pattern of percussions to the present day.

But if subsequent changes and extensions have not, on the surface, been as radical or numerous as in the system of modes, they have nevertheless resulted in significant transformations. The major differences may be summed up as an increase in the total number of cycles recognized, coupled with a further radical shift in frequency of use. It may be hypothesized that the increase derives from two sources: one a tendency to systematize, at least to the extent of filling empty slots in the numerical range of the total number of time units per cycle, the other a tendency in the performance of pieces in certain cycles towards retardation, resulting in the creation of doublets. These would either, as in the case of *muzaaf devr-i kebîr* versus *devr-i kebîr*, consist of more and less expanded versions of the same cycle,<sup>153</sup> or emerge through the plugging of what was perceived as a gap in the system, caused by the removal of the cycle in question beyond the normal tempo range, by a faster cycle with the same total of time units. Accordingly *curcuna*, for example, may be considered to fill the slot left by the retardation of *semâ'i-i lenk*. But more pertinent is to observe that retardation may have led to the same fate affecting the longer cycles now as in the sixteenth century: when the tempo indication for a piece in *darb-i fetih* drops as low as  $1 = (\text{♩} = ) 40$ <sup>154</sup> a single cycle will last upwards of two minutes. Hardly surprising, therefore, that knowledge of the longer cycles is no longer widespread: in recent twentieth-century notations they normally appear as aggregates of 4 : 4 bars, and the underlay of the percussion accompaniment articulating the structure is often omitted. But even more significant is that such omission may

<sup>152</sup> Al-Lâdiqî lists a six time-unit cycle but, as noted above, this had already fallen out of use by the end of the fifteenth century, and fails to appear in the antecedent anthologies.

<sup>153</sup> See Özkan 1984: 664-6, Seidel 1972-3 and Wright 1988: 7-9.

<sup>154</sup> e.g. Ezgi 2: 174.

also occur in performance, with the result that the cycles recede beyond normal perception and cease, for all practical purposes, to exist or, rather, are translated into formal devices, providing a mould of arbitrary (but uniform) length into which the melodic content of the various sections of a piece must be fitted.<sup>155</sup> Collections of classics may still contain works in such long cycles as *darb-ı fetih*, *hâvî* and *şakîl*, but a count of 250 pieces in one randomly selected modern *güfte mecmuası*<sup>156</sup> provides the following list of most frequently occurring cycles:

time units		% of sample
2	<i>nîm sofyan</i>	4.4
3	<i>semâ'î</i>	6.3
4	<i>sofyan</i>	4.8
5	<i>türkaksağı</i>	2
6	<i>yürük/sengin semâ'î</i>	14.7
7	<i>devr-i hindî</i>	2.4
8	<i>düyek, mülsemmen</i> <sup>157</sup>	19
9	<i>aksak, evfer</i> <sup>158</sup>	25.8
10	<i>curcuna, aksak semâ'î, lenk fahte</i> <sup>159</sup>	15.1
above 10	eleven other cycles	5.6

Table 29

It is evident from this that there is a peak of preference for cycles of 6, 8, 9 and 10 time units, which make up almost 75% of the whole, approximately the same proportion as the total of those listed in table 28 for the seventeenth century. The contrast is clear: short cycles are even more dominant than hitherto, and the marked drop in the level of utilization of cycles with more than 10 time units means that many of the longer cycles noted by Cantemir, including some that were then evidently in common use, have subsequently become marginalized: in the sample chosen there was not a single example of *şakîl* or *devr-i kebîr*, both of which figure in table 28, while of the other prominent seventeenth-century cycles *çenber*, *muhammes* and *devr-i revân* now muster between them a mere five appearances: only the two shortest of the most

<sup>155</sup> There being just one cycle per section. In the seventeenth century, however, there may, except in the cases of *darb-ı fetih* and *zencir*, be more.

<sup>156</sup> Ünkün 1984. Arbitrarily, the first and last 125 were chosen.

<sup>157</sup> Nearly all *düyek* (45 out of 48).

<sup>158</sup> Nearly all *aksak* (63 out of 65).

<sup>159</sup> Nearly all *curcuna* (33 out of 38).

frequently used seventeenth-century cycles, *düyek* and *semâ'î*, retain their prominence. Furthermore, the great majority of the few pieces that do employ the longer cycles are by early composers. It is thus clear that these cycles have become, or are at least well on the way to becoming, museum exhibits, structures retained because of the classic status of the pieces in which they figure, but no longer used for new compositions. The marked contrast between tables 28 and 29 indicates a shift between seventeenth- and twentieth-century preferences perhaps more gradual in its execution, but no less radical in its final effect, that that noted previously for the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.

#### 4.8. Envoi

Even if the above survey of the shifts in the repertoire of rhythmic cycles illustrates more than anything else, perhaps, the difficulties attendant upon attempts to trace historical developments, what cannot be disguised is the fact that, however great the changes observable between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, there is abundant evidence of continuity, of evolution within an assured tradition. And the same is true with regard to the system of modes. But for the earlier period the evidence for such a conclusion is far weaker: the type of material reviewed here indicates, rather, stark discontinuities between the mid sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries. Not only are there radical changes in formal, modal and rhythmic structures but we find, as an even more crucial contrast, that the earlier court-music repertoire has simply, and totally, vanished, to be replaced by a largely contemporary repertoire in which very few of those works which will eventually assume classic status can date from earlier than the beginning of the seventeenth century. The conclusion is inescapable: the specifically Ottoman tradition which lies at the basis of present-day classical music in Turkey can be traced back no further than the early seventeenth century.<sup>160</sup>

But much remains unexplained, and it must be stressed that only a certain type of evidence has been analysed. The extent of the discontinuity between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries within the parameters defined above is clear, but to state it is not to offer an interpretation. Exploration of the possible causes for such a massive rift cannot be attempted here, and it is clear that if any satisfactory explanations are ever to be found they will have to be derived largely from other types of source, but we may at least point to the terminological asymmetry between what have been called the later 'Ottoman tradition' and the earlier 'court-music repertoire'.

<sup>160</sup> Accordingly, little credence can be given to the divisions proposed by Berker (1985), which arbitrarily impose western concepts onto the quite different historical trajectory of Turkish music and make the whole period from 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī to 'İtrī a single entity (termed 'preclassical' - *klâsik öncesi veya preklâsik*).

This suggests two axes for exploration, one chronological, the other sociological. With regard to the former, it could be argued that what is implied is not merely that there is little or no connexion between the two, but that the latter exists in some kind of historical limbo, which is patently not the case. What is at issue, however, is not the pre-history of the court-music repertoire, but the problem of its quite sudden disappearance, to which one may add the question of the extent to which, viewed specifically in relation to the emergence of the Ottoman tradition, the musical system through which it was articulated survived it. Despite the undeniable existence of many common elements, the evidence reviewed above indicates that the seventeenth-century Ottoman system differed from its predecessor to the extent that if the two were juxtaposed we would need to speak of musical diglossia, and given the brevity of the time span involved it is difficult to conceive that the idiom of the earlier court-music repertoire could have been relinquished (at the earliest during the third quarter of the sixteenth century) before the initial stages of the evolution of its successor into a form recognizably Ottoman (the process being completed at the latest during the second quarter of the seventeenth century). Far more plausible - although the hypothetical nature of the discussion should again be stressed - to assume that what would become the idiom of seventeenth-century Ottoman music had begun to evolve as an increasingly distinct system some time before the abandonment of that in terms of which the antecedent repertoire was articulated.

If the possibility of such coexistence is entertained it follows, accepting the presence of the antecedent repertoire at the sixteenth-century Ottoman court and hence the impossibility of a straightforward stylistic cleavage relating to regional differences, that for a certain period we do need to entertain the notion of diglossia, any explanation of which must involve consideration of the sociological axis. Here, in the absence, yet again, of appropriate evidence, we can only put forward as a plausible hypothesis that the sixteenth-century court music recorded in the antecedent collections could have been precisely that, a corpus of songs largely in languages other than Turkish enjoying high prestige but only limited diffusion, performed often by professional musicians trained elsewhere and employing a specialized idiom that may not have enjoyed wide currency beyond the confines of the court. Alongside and in a certain sense beneath this one could well imagine the development of an indigenous Ottoman tradition of urban music-making, which would be characterized by its emphasis on Turkish texts avoiding the prominent panegyric strain of court poetry and, since it existed outside the patronage system of the court, would rely very little on the professional performer but depend, rather, on wider participation. In short, a relatively popular idiom and set of forms, conforming to what has been inferred from the evidence of HP about the wide social range from which its composers were drawn, and one, moreover, involving, again in contrast to the court-music

repertoire, a significant proportion of religious songs. In terms of function it would, therefore, be a broadly based tradition embracing devotion as well as entertainment, being employed in the ceremonies of religious fraternities such as the Mevlevi through which wide participation and diffusion would be facilitated. Such a tradition would be well placed to move into territory rendered vacant by the abandonment - for reasons as yet unexplained - of the previous court-music repertoire, acquiring in the process the trappings of a theoretical codification alongside a growing corpus of compositions of proven durability deemed worthy of the accolade of attribution to one of the ancient masters, normally 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi who, having figured so prominently in the previous repertoire, survives to provide symbolic continuity, if not of substance then at least of status.

But the above account may be just one among several possible explanations that possess the merit of doing no obvious violence to the evidence adduced. More should not be claimed, and its conjectural nature is clear. The song-text anthologies, it has been asserted, provide important and incontrovertible evidence of a significant rupture between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but concerning its causes they are silent.



## Appendix 1

The following is a handlist of song-text collections in manuscript designed to give some indication of the character and extent of the tradition. It has no pretensions to completeness (only a selected number of library holdings has been investigated), nor does it do more than give a vague notion of contents. On various manuscripts of the antecedent tradition further notes may be consulted in Appendix 2. For the Ottoman examples a very approximate dating has been attempted based on rough and ready criteria such as the presence or absence of a particular mode (e.g. *suzidîlara*) known to have been created at a certain time. In certain cases reference is made to rarer *makâm*s included in the collection, or at least in a prefatory *makâm* index.

### The antecedent tradition

#### Götha

Herzogliche Bibliothek

Orient. P87. G - see main text pp. 4, 23-7.

#### Istanbul

Nuruosmaniye

3652. NO - see main text pp. 4, 23-7. (*Dānīšpažūh* 1977: 12-15.)

Süleymaniye

Bağdatlı Vehbi 1002. S - see main text pp. 4, 35-7. (*Dānīšpažūh* 1977: 11-12.)

#### Lahore

University Library

pph III 16/1636. (*Dānīšpažūh* 1977: 15-16.)

## Oxford

## Bodleian Library

Ouseley 127 and 128. Ox - see main text pp. 4, 31-4. (Dānišpažūh 1977: 15, 25.)

Greaves 19. Contains (fols. 35a-7a), after theoretical material, the *maḳām* sections of the Ox *muwašṣaḥ kullī* plus four other *muwašṣaḥs*.

## Paris

## Bibliothèque Nationale

Bloch 2013 - ancien fonds 260. (Dānišpažūh 1977: 18-25.)

Supplément turc 1424, fols. 34a-38b.<sup>1</sup>

## The Ottoman tradition

## Berlin

## Staatsbibliothek

Or. oct. 3339. ?Nineteenth century. 427 fols., nearly full. *bestes*, *şarkıs*, *semā'īs*. Occasional rhythm and internal form indications. No *maḳām* index. *rast* section preceded (fols. 2a-3b) by *rubā'īs* headed *taksim*. Fols. 163a-7a contain *uṣūl* definitions in terms of numerical symbols and a brief treatise on *maḳāms*.

Or. quart. 1578. ?Eighteenth century. 399 fols., half full. Index of 66 *maḳāms* (including *şuri hüseyinī*, *kürdi hüseyinī*, *horasan*). Contains *kārs*, *naḳış*, *murabba'āt* and *semā'īs*. Headings and internal form indications in red (and, in *semā'īs*, syllable material). Composers include Hoca, Hāfız Post, Receb, 'İtrī and Şerif. Some later additions, including a *peşrev* (fols. 29b-30a) in solfeggio notation.

## Istanbul

## Millet

Ali Emiri (manzum) 732. Nineteenth century. 1240 pp. *maḳām* index.

Ali Emiri (manzum) 736. Eighteenth century. 280 fols. Mainly *semā'īs*. Index of 52 *maḳāms* (including *neva-i sünbūle*, *nevrüz-acem*, *mubarka'*-

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Cem Behar for having recently drawn my attention to the existence of this further example.

*nevruz*). (Followed (fols. 281-5) by a short treatise dated *zū-l-ḥicqa* 1146/1734.)

### Süleymaniye

Bağdatlı Vehbi 1002 - the additional material at the beginning and end. Early eighteenth century. Principally *kārs*. (Dānişpažūh 1977: 11.)

Esat Efendi 3397. 147 fols. Index of *makāms*. *uṣūl* definitions. *ilāhīs*.

Esat Efendi 3309. *ilāhīs*.

Esat Efendi 3399. *ilāhīs*.

Esat Efendi 3478. ?Late eighteenth century. Index of 59 *makāms* (including *horasani*, *rahatfeza*, *dilkeş*, *mahur-aşiran*, *sebz ender sebz*).

Nafiz Paşa 1503. Contains theoretical material (fols. 1-9b) followed, on different paper and in different hands, by song texts, a few of which have *makām* indications.

Lala Ismail 593. 20 fols. Arabic (mostly devotional) and Turkish verse with *makām* indications.

### Topkapı

B. 402. *ilāhīs*. Composers include Hāfiz Post and 'İtrī; the most prolific is Derviş 'Alī. Index of 34 *makāms*.

H. 1794. *ilāhīs*, *na'ats*. Includes pieces by 'İtrī. Author, *makām* sometimes indicated. *makām* index suggests an eighteenth-century date, and a note on fol. 54b refers to the year 1193/1779.

M.R. 543. ?Eighteenth century. Little musical information. Ends with a *mi'rāciye*, each couplet having a *makām* heading.

M.R. 544. A small collection of *şarkıs* with just a few *makām* indication.

R. 1722. ?Early eighteenth-century. A large, rather messy collection. Among the few composers mentioned are Hāfiz Post and 'İtrī.

R. 1723. Eighteenth century. 27 *makām* headings including *rast ma'ahu rehavi*, *dugah ma'ahu saba*, *uzzal ma'ahu hicaz*, *irak bā envā'*.

R. 1724. HP - see main text pp. 4, 148-58.

R. 1725. ?Early eighteenth century. Many composers in common with HP (with Hāfiz Post himself being referred to as *merhum*). Some *uṣūl* mnemonics. Index of 42 *makāms*.

### Üniverseti Kütüphanesi

T591. ?Early eighteenth century. Among composers Receb, Hāfiz Post and 'İtrī are well represented. No *makām* index; *makām* sections.

T810. No *makām* index. *makām* sections.

T824. Nineteenth century. *makām* sections. Form, composer specified. *terennümāt* in red. Final list of notes.

T962. A few *makām* indications only.

T966. ?Eighteenth century. *makām* sections. Rhythm, form, composer specified. *terennümāt* in red.

T1014. ?Nineteenth century. Mixed contents; some *şarkıs* with *makām* specified.

- T1042. 'New songs' (*yeni şarkılar*). Texts only.
- T1049. Some *makāms* specified. Little information otherwise. Several *ilāhis*.
- T1051. ?Nineteenth century; *türküs* and *şarkıs*. No information beyond occasional form headings.
- T1057. Virtually no musical data.
- T1065. *ilāhis*, *gazels*. No musical data.
- T1066. Probably late. *şarkıs*. Only *makām* specified.
- T1067. No musical data.
- T2067. *makām* index. *uşul* mnemonics.
- T3276. No *makām* sections. *makām* specified for individual entries.
- T3353. *makām* index.
- T3466. *makām* sections.
- T3533. *makām* index.
- T3595. No *makām* index.
- T3608. 126 fols., three-quarters full. *makām* index.
- T3866. Eighteenth century. A pencil entry inside the cover (?by Rauf Yekta Bey) identifies it as by/belonging to Hekimbaşı 'Abd al-'Aziz. An extensive (388 fols.) and important collection, arranged in *makām* blocks, normally identifying rhythm, form, composer, and poet. There follow a list of instrumental *peşrevs* (fols. 389-92), arranged in *makām* blocks, and identifying rhythm and composer or title and, on fols. 392-7 (bound back to front), miscellaneous materials including *uşul* mnemonics, a list of *uşûlât-i 'arab* followed by a list of *uşûlât-i mehterân-i 'ilm*, brief definitions of the *terkibât* (including *uzzal-acem*, *hecaz-muhalefak*, *neva-aşiran*, *nevrüz-i acem*, *gerdaniye-negar*, *sebz ender sebz*), a mode list with cosmological associations, and a note on time theory.
- T3877. Nineteenth century. 125 fols., three-quarters full. *makām* index. Song texts with no further information.
- T5600. No *makām* index.
- T5632. Nineteenth century. Index of 70 *makāms*, but very few entries, all *şarkıs*. No information otherwise.
- T5633. Nineteenth century. Index of 98 *makāms*, including *rast-i cedit*, *araban-kürdi*, *gerdaniye-kürdi*, *araban-kürdi*, *hüzzam-i cedit*, *hüzzam-sultani*, *şevk-aver*, *hecazeyn*. Large collection (beautifully written) of *şarkıs*. Composer usually indicated, but no other information.
- T5634. Nineteenth century. Index of 55 *makāms*. Large collection. Form (*kār*, *nakış*, *beste*, *şarkı*, *semâ'i*), rhythm and composer normally identified.
- T5635. Nineteenth century. Beautifully produced, but largely empty. Index of 98 *makāms*, but only 11 exemplified. No specification of composer or rhythmic cycle.
- T5638. *şarkıs*. Composer, *makām* only rarely indicated.
- T5639. ?Dated 1224/1809. Index of 48 *makāms* includes *nevrüz-i acem*, *saba-dügah*, *bestes*, *şarkıs*, *semâ'is*.
- T5640. ?Eighteenth century. Large collection. No *makām* index. Rhythm, composer, form (*kār*, *nakış*, *beste*, *şarkı*, *semâ'i*) specified.
- T5642. Nineteenth century. Includes pieces by Derviş İsmâ'il.
- T5643. Nineteenth century. 242 fols., one-quarter full. *makām* index.

- T5644. ?Early eighteenth century. Calligraphic quality. Form, composer specified; internal structural divisions in red. Composers include 'Abd ul-'Alī, Küçük İmām, Na'ī, Receb, Hāfız Post and 'İtrī.
- T5645. Stamp: Mehmet 'Āref 1191/(1777). Some 60 *maḳāms* represented (including *neva-sūnbūle*, *eviç-gerdaniye*, *eviç-aşiran*).
- T5646. Nineteenth century. Index of 49 *maḳāms* (to which contents do not fully correspond) including *nihavend-sūnbūle*. Principally *şarkıs*, many anonymous.
- T5647. Nineteenth century. Principally *şarkıs*, but with a central unrelated section of riddles.
- T5648. Nineteenth century. *maḳāms* include *sultani hüzzam*, *hecazeyn*. Mainly *şarkıs*; some *semā'īs*, *ilāhis* at end. Composers not identified.
- T5651. Small, late. *maḳāms* specified, but no further information.
- T5652. Late. Few entries.
- T5653. An extensive collection, but few composers identified. *uṣūl* mnemonics include *aksak fāhte*, *musabba*, *aksak berefşan*.
- T5654. Nineteenth century. Few entries; many *maḳām* sections empty. Composers not identified.
- T5655. Nineteenth century. Several *maḳām* sections empty. Most pieces identified as by Derviş İsmā'il.
- T5656. Nineteenth century. Nearly all *şarkıs*. Occasional *maḳām* identification, but otherwise no musical data.
- T5658. ?Eighteenth century. *maḳām* index includes (although they are normally not exemplified) *sultan(i) neva*, *neva-aşiran*, *nevrüz-i acem*, *nevrüz-i rumi*, *acem-neva*, *acem-çargah*, *nihavend-i rumi*, *türki hecaz*, *zirkeş haveran*, *bahr-i nazik*, *hecaz-i muhalef*.
- T5659. Nineteenth century. Index of 48 *maḳāms* (including *beyati-buselik*, *nihavent-sūnbūle*, *vech-i arazbar*, *hüzzam-i cedit*, *?pahr-i nehāz* (<?*bahr-i nazik*)), but contents do not fully accord with this.
- T9857. Index grid empty.
- T9896. Nineteenth century. A large collection of 458 fols., nearly half full. Rhythm, composer (usually), and form (*kār*, *beste*, *şarkı*, *semā'ī*) specified. No *maḳām* index.

London

British Library

- Add. 7939. Just one or two *maḳām* indications.
- Or. 3221. Late. Beginning missing. *şarkı*, *beste*, *semā'ī* texts. Also some *kārs*: composers only indicated for these.
- Or. 7059. ?Early eighteenth century. 220 fols., with pages shaved down and some bound in the wrong direction. No *maḳām* index. Form, rhythm, composer specified. Each *maḳām* block contains a *rubā'iyāt/murabba'āt* subsection. Same internal structural vocabulary as HP. A large-scale, important collection with pieces by 'İtrī, Hāfız Post, Receb, Koca 'Osmān, Es'ad Efendi, and many attributed to *acemler*.

- Or. 7251. Eighteenth century. Fol. 23a gives *uṣūl* definitions, 24a a *maḳām* index (which includes *saba ma'ahu dūḡah, kuçek-hüseyni*). Occasional *maḳām* definitions above texts, but otherwise uninformative.
- Or. 7252. Fols. 1b-2b contain a prose introduction on cosmological themes entitled *fevā'id-i şettā*, 3b a *maḳām* index with 47 entries, 4b-5a *uṣūl* definitions. Composers include 'İtrî and Dilhayat Hanım.
- Or. 7253. Largely empty. Initial *maḳām* index. Mnemonics of 8 cycles.
- Or. 7254. Late. Largely empty. *maḳām* headings.
- Or. 8040. No musical information.
- Or. 8041. Mainly *bestes, şarkıs, semā'is*. Sporadic indication of composer, rhythm. *uṣūl* definitions at end.
- Or. 12178. *ilāhis* arranged according to *maḳām*.
- Or. 12982. Dated 1176/1762-3. 94 fols. Mixed contents in various hands. Includes two non-musical tracts, various flower paintings (within the *mecmua*) and drawings of ships. *uṣūl* definitions. *maḳām* sections. Occasional form indications. Rhythmic cycle indications rare. Generally uninformative.

## Manchester

### John Rylands Library

Turkish 22. ?Late eighteenth century. 97 fols., of which the *mecmua* is fols. 1-34b. Index of 46 *maḳāms*. *uṣūl* mnemonics. Form, composer, rhythm and *terennümmāt* in red. Some internal form terms. Composers include 'İtrî, Receb, Dilhayat Hanım. 5a contains a *kār-i fihrist* by Tab'î Efendi with *maḳām* names given.

## Oxford

### Bodleian Library

Or. 4. No musical data. (Genres represented are *ilāhi, nazîre, semā'î, türkû, tekerleme*.)

Selden Superius 1. Few entries. Occasional *maḳām* indications. No further musical data.

## Appendix 2

The only existing bibliographical study of the antecedent tradition is the extremely useful survey by Dānišpažūh (1977). It begins with a detailed analysis of the contents of Blochet 2013, a large-scale collection for which 348 items are listed and the names of 42 composers, the great majority of whom also appear in NO/G, Ox and S. Indeed, Dānišpažūh suggests a similarity between Blochet 2013 and Ox, despite the fact that while the latter is organized primarily in rhythmic cycle blocks, the former is arranged in mode blocks. The amount of overlap in the contents of the two may in fact be no greater than that between Ox and S: taking as a sample the 26 *rāst* pieces in Blochet 2013 we find that no more than 6 have matching headings (identity of rhythmic cycle, composer and language of verse) in Ox. The extensive and detailed contents list for Blochet 2013 may, nevertheless, be regarded as representative of the kind of material contained in Ox and S. Dānišpažūh (1977: 12-15) also gives a comparable list of the contents of NO, marred by a few inexplicable omissions, but sufficiently full and accurate to make any reduplication here unnecessary. Of the other manuscripts mentioned, that in Lahore (pph III 16/1636) is unusual in being, according to the colophon, a copy (dated *jum. I* 1074/1663) of an earlier collection. Written in Delhi, it conceivably marks a late prolongation of the antecedent tradition in India.

Comparative study of the contents of NO and G may be facilitated by the following list of the locations of pieces identified as common to both:

G	NO	G	NO
1a	115a	9b	127a
1a	115b	10a	127a
1b	116a	10b	128a
2a	117b	12a	19b
3a	118a	12b	20a
3b	118a	13b	20b
3b	118b	13b	18b
4a	119a	45a	162b
5a	120a	45a	163a
5b	120b	47a	166a
5b	121a	47b	166a
6b	122b	48a	164a
6b	121b	48b	164b
7a	122a	49a	80a
7b	124a	49a	80a
9a	126a	50a	79a
9a	126b	51a	81a

## WORDS WITHOUT SONGS

G	NO	G	NO
51a	81b	165a	34a
52a	83a	165a	34b
52a	83a	166a	32b
52b	83b	166a	33a
53a	84a	166a	33a
53a	86a	166b	33b
53b	84b	167a	34b
55a	86b	168a	37a
55a	87a	169a	37a
55b	87b	169a	36a
56a	89a	171a	38a
56a	89a	171a	38b
56b	89b	171b	40a
57a	87b	172a	40a
58a	91a	172b	41a
58a	91a	173a	168a
58b	91b	173a	168b
58b	92a	174a	169a
59a	92b	174a	169b
59b	92b	174b	170b
61b	94a	175a	170a
61b	94a	177a	172b
62a	94b	179a	174a
64a	95a	179a	174a
64a	95a	179b	175b
64b	96a	180a	175a
65a	99a	181b	5b
65a	99a	183a	3a
65b	99b	184a	51a
66a	101a	184a	51a
154a	41b	185a	51b
154b	42a	185b	52a
157a	43a	186a	52b
157a	43a	188a	4a
157b	46a	188a	4a
158a	44a	188b	4b
158b	46b	189a	9b
160a	47a	190a	54a
160b	47b	190b	54b
161a	48a	191b	55b
161a	48b	192a	57a
161b	49b	193a	58a
162a	50a	193a	58b
162b	44b	193b	59a
164a	31a		
164a	31b		
165a	32b		



The study of G is rendered difficult both because a number of folios have been lost from it, and because the order of those that remain has been disturbed. In the following attempt to reconstitute, if only partially, a more coherent order, all those folios that definitely belong together (as confirmed, for example, by a catch-word) are linked by a hyphen. Those separated by a comma provide a logical, but not necessary, sequence, that is, one that could, without loss of coherence, be reordered or disturbed by intervening material. A following slash indicates the onset of a gap - an incomplete piece the end of which has not been located. Similarly, a preceding slash indicates the termination of a gap - an incomplete piece the beginning of which has not been located. Blank folios are enclosed in square brackets. We have, accordingly:

1-2, 3-4-5-6-7-8, 9-10/  
 11, 12-13/  
 15, [16], [18], [19], 20-21-22-23-24, 25-26, 27-28-?33 (or ?36),  
 29-30-14, 31/  
 32, 34, 35, 45, [46], 48-47?-?36 (or ?33), 37?-38-39, 40-41-42, 43/  
 44/  
 49, 50, 51, 52-53-54, 55-56-57, 58-59-60, 61-62, [63], 64/  
 65-67, 66

Fols. 68-147 are without headings or internal markings. To this block also belongs fol. 17.

/17, 68, 69/  
 70, 71, 72-73-74-75, 76-78, 77-80/  
 /79  
 /81, 82, 83-84, 85, [86], [87], 88, 89-90-91-92-93, 94, [95],  
 96-97-98, 99, [100], [101], [102], 103-104, 105-106-107-108/  
 135-109-144, [145], 146, 147, [148], [149], [150]  
 110, 111-113, 112, 114-123/  
 115, 116/  
 /117/  
 /118, 119-124, 125, 126-142-143, 120(?)  
 /121/  
 122/  
 /127/  
 /128/  
 129-130-131, 132-133, [134]  
 /136-137, 138-139-140-141, [156], 157-158, [159], 160-161-  
 162-163, 164-165(?)  
 166, 167, 168, 169, [170], 171-172-154-155, 173, 174-175,  
 176-177, 178, 179-180, 181, [182], 183-188/  
 184, 185/  
 /186, [187], 189, 190-191-192, 193-153/  
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Dānīšpażūh gives no comparable account of the contents of HP or of any of the other similar Ottoman anthologies. But little would be gained by listing such details here. A broad outline of the contents of HP has already been given in 3.2.1-3.2.4.1 (pp. 148-57); providing information on the *makām* index, the style of the headings and, in table 11, the nature and extent of the collection as a whole. Bakırcıoğlu 1949-50 and Özpekel 1979 identify the poets set and some of the composers, who are in any case listed in full in the following index.

### Index of composers

(All folio numbers are *recto* unless otherwise indicated. (m) shows those instances where a composer is described as *marhūm/merhum* 'deceased, late'. Where there is more than one setting by the same composer on the page the number of settings has been added in brackets. Only with (Amir/Mirzā) Gāzanfar and Şūfī (sic) al-Dīn / 'Abd al-Mu'mīn have composite entries been produced, so that normally cross-referencing (as between, say, Faqīr Şāwūr and Şāwūr) will be required.)

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## Glossary/Index

With the exception of the names of modes and rhythmic cycles, the entry indicates first the language(s) of ultimate origin (A = Arabic, P = Persian, T = Turkish; the phrase syntax will generally be Persian) and then gives the meaning. Where a term appears in two guises (e.g. 'acem/'ajam) one will be the Ottoman form, the other the original Arabic or Persian form.

- a* Indicates the first segment of a block *miyân* setting of several hemistiches in longer pieces. The following hemistiches in the block are marked sequentially by the letters *b, j*, and *d*.  
81
- â* An abbreviation of →*âwîza*.  
'acem/'ajam A mode.  
14n, 149, 170, 190n, 195, 247, 259n, 260  
'acem-'ašîrân A mode.  
149, 192, 193n, 194  
'acem-bûselik A mode.  
263  
*âhang* (P 'melody')  
70n, 208n  
'ajam→'acem  
'ajam-nigâr A mode.  
248-9  
'ajam-râst A mode.  
252n  
*ajnâs mufrada* (A 'isolate species')  
Species that do not conform to the norm of spanning a fourth, or contain more than three intervals within a fourth or four within a fifth.  
244  
*aksak* (T 'limping') A technical term for rhythmic cycles containing both duple and triple elements; a rhythmic cycle.  
281n, 283  
*aksak semâ'î* A rhythmic cycle.  
179n, 283  
'amal (A 'work') A form; a rhythmic cycle (with which the form may initially have been associated).  
25-6, 30, 33, 38, 41, 69, 70-1, 80, 100, 105-6, 126-7, 135, 138n, 154, 156-7, 160, 172, 197, 212-7, 266, 268, 270-1, 275-6  
'arazbâr A mode.  
149, 192, 193n, 194, 196n, 260  
'ašîrân A mode.  
149, 193n, 260  
'ašîrân-bûselik A mode.  
193n  
*âwâz* (P 'voice, melody') One of an important group of six (later seven) modes.  
26-7, 38n, 39, 131-4, 137-40, 142-3, 147, 196, 213, 229, 245-6, 253-4, 256-7, 259-61, 263  
*awfar*→*evfer*  
*âwîza* (also *bayt-i âwîza*) (P 'pendant' (AP 'pendant verse')) Most frequently the setting of a second verse text, which in comparison to that of the first is generally more compressed. It is usually followed by a repeat of part of the first setting. The second text will normally be in a different rhyme and metre. (Where there is

- more than one such supplementary text the term *qit'a* may be encountered in place of *āwīza*.)  
65, 68, 76-81, 105, 123-5, 171, 210, 219-22, 225
- āwīza-i dīgar* (P 'another → *āwīza*')  
*awsaṭ* (A 'medium, middle')  
*awsaṭ/evsaṭ* A rhythmic cycle.  
30, 33, 135, 198-9, 265n, 266-8, 270, 272n, 273, 275-6, 279, 281
- awwal* (A 'first') The repeat, for the second block of verse, of the setting of the first.  
53-77, 79-83, 105-6, 123-4, 128, 167, 188, 209-11, 221
- awwal band* (AP 'first strophe, section') A section, equivalent to → *awwal*.  
83
- ayk* A mode.  
252
- b* → *a*  
*bābā tāhir* A mode.  
154, 192, 193n, 194
- baḥr-i nāzik* A mode.  
192n, 251-2
- baḥrsar* A mode.  
252
- baraḥṣān* → *bereḥṣān*  
*baṣiṭ* (A 'simple') A form.  
212, 214-5
- bastanigār* → *bestenigār*  
*bayānī* A mode; a particular pitch.  
149, 192, 194-5, 259n, 260, 261n, 262
- bayr* (A 'line of verse') Indicates the resumption of the verse setting after an interruption.  
68
- bayr al-wasaṭ* (A 'middle verse') A section, equivalent to → *miyān ḥāna*.  
209n, 211, 221
- bayt-i āwīza* (AP 'pendant verse') → *āwīza*
- bayt-i āwīza-i dīgar* (APP 'another pendant verse') → *āwīza*.  
80
- bayt-i miyān ḥāna* (APP 'middle section verse') → *miyān ḥāna*.  
81
- bāzgašt* (P 'return') A (usually extensive) syllable section located after the *miyān* section.  
39, 53-73, 75n, 76-89, 91, 93, 101, 104-6, 108n, 109, 112, 115, 117-8, 120-4, 126-7, 136-9, 140n, 167-8, 172, 188, 209-13, 216, 219, 221-3, 225-6, 229
- bāzgū* (P 'repeat') A later equivalent of *bāzgašt*.  
210
- bend* (P 'strophe, section') A section, equivalent to *ḥāne*; one of the major structural divisions of Ottoman pieces.  
170, 182, 187, 189n
- bend-i evvel* (PA 'first section')  
173, 189n
- bend-i rābi'* (PA 'fourth section')  
184, 189n
- bend-i sāliṣ* (PA 'third section')  
184, 189n
- bend 2/i ṣānī* (PA 'second section')  
171, 172n, 174, 182, 184, 188, 229-30
- bereḥṣān/baraḥṣān/waraṣān* A rhythmic cycle.  
199-200, 264n, 265n, 270-2, 275, 279, 281
- beste* (P lit. 'bound; a verse form') A form.  
155-6, 162, 164, 167, 173, 177, 179, 238
- bestenigār/bastanigār* A mode.  
149, 193n, 194, 247, 251, 256, 258, 260
- bestenigār-'acem* A mode.  
193n
- būsalik/būselik* A mode.  
24-5, 26n, 27, 131, 133, 149, 244-7, 253-5, 256n, 257, 260

*būsalik-māya* A mode.

131, 248

*būsalik-mubārqa'* A mode.

248-9

*buzurg* A mode.

24-7, 30, 131, 133, 244, 246-7,  
250, 252n, 253

*čanbar*→*çenber*

*čang* (P 'harp')

145

*čār darb* A rhythmic cycle; a form.

26, 30, 33, 38, 41, 69-70, 79,  
126-7, 135, 154, 156, 197, 215-  
6, 264n, 265n, 266-7, 269-70,  
272-3, 275, 278-9

*čārgāh* A mode.

139, 149, 194, 196n, 246-7,  
249, 251, 252n, 256, 260, 262n

*čārgāh-'ajam* A mode.

248

*čārgāh-mubārqa'* A mode.

250

*çenber/čanbar* A rhythmic cycle.

165n, 197, 199-200, 267, 272,  
275-7, 279, 283

*curcuna* A rhythmic cycle.

282-3

*d*→*a*

*dā'ira* (A 'cycle') A form; to all  
appearances equivalent to →  
*pēšraw*.

34, 38n, 40, 127, 130-1, 132n,  
215, 246n

*daff* (A 'frame-drum')

145

*dar bayt* (PA lit. 'in the verse')

Indicates the onset of the verse  
setting (and is thus equivalent to  
→*taqsim*).

84

*dar dōlāb* (PP lit. 'in the wheel')

Meaning obscure: possibly refers  
to a conventional sequence of  
changes. Also found in Ox is

*dōlāb* (*kardan* or, preferably,) *gardān* 'turning the wheel').

39

(*dar*) *duwāzdah wa-šaš* (P '(in)  
twelve and six') An indication of  
a modulation sequence involving  
the twelve *šudūd* and six *āwāzes*.

39, 137-8, 214, 251, 257

(*dar*) *uṣūl kardan* (P 'to make  
rhythmic cycles'. Another poss-  
ible reading would be (*dar*) *uṣūl*  
*gardān* 'turning rhythmic  
cycles'.) An indication of a  
sequence of rhythmic cycle  
changes (generally confined to a  
particular section of the piece).

38-9, 136

*darb* (A 'blow, percussion') A  
form, possibly equivalent to  
*darbayn*.

215

*darb al-faḥḥ/darb-i fetih* A rhyth-  
mic cycle.

34, 135, 143, 198-200, 215n,  
266-7, 269n, 271-3, 275, 279,  
282

*darb al-jadīd* A rhythmic cycle.

197n, 265n, 266n, 272, 275

*darb al-qadīm* A rhythmic cycle.

197n, 272, 275

*darbayn/darbeyn* A duplex rhyth-  
mic cycle; a form (in which two  
rhythmic cycles are performed  
simultaneously).

137, 199, 212, 214n, 215, 265n,  
272, 275, 280-1

*darb-i mi'atayn/darb al-mi'atayn*  
A rhythmic cycle.

126, 196n, 265n, 266, 270-2,  
275

*darb-i šāhī* A rhythmic cycle.

266n

*dawr al-faraj* (Possibly) a rhyth-  
mic cycle (but *faraj* may be a  
misreading of →*farah* or →  
*farruḥ*).

12n

*dawr-i mi'atayn*→*darb-i mi'atayn*

- devr-i hindī* A rhythmic cycle.  
196n, 198-9, 236n, 275, 283
- devr-i kebīr* A rhythmic cycle.  
196n, 198-200, 236, 274-7, 279, 281-3
- devr-i revān* A rhythmic cycle.  
184, 197-200, 217n, 234-7, 275-7, 279n, 283
- diwān* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 275-6
- dovvom* (P 'second') → *ḥāne-i dov-vom*.
- dugāh/dūgāh* A mode; a particular pitch.  
26n, 131-2, 134, 137n, 192, 194, 243n, 245-7, 250n, 260, 262
- dugāh-'ajam* A mode.  
248
- dugāh-i aṣl* A mode.  
132n, 252
- dugāh-ḥijāz/dugāh wa-ḥijāzī* A mode.  
131-2, 248, 250n
- dūgāh-hūseyṇī* A mode.  
193
- dugāh-iṣfahān* A mode.  
132, 248
- dugāh-kūčak* A mode.  
248
- dugāh-māya* A mode.  
132, 248
- dugāh-rāst* A mode.  
132, 248
- dugāh wa-rahāwī* A mode.  
250n
- duḥūl* (A 'entry') Marks the point at which material is reintroduced; possibly equivalent to the earlier → *sarband*.  
121-2, 139, 273
- duḥūl-i jadwal* (AA 'entry of the course') Indicates repetition of verse-setting material.  
124n
- duḥūl-i naqara-i awwal* (AAA lit. 'entry of the first percussion') Indicates repetition of verse-setting material.  
124
- dūm* A percussion mnemonic.  
163, 264, 278
- duwāzdah wa-šaš* → (dar) *duwāzdah wa-šaš*
- duyak/dūyek* A rhythmic cycle.  
165n, 184, 198-200, 217, 237, 271-2, 275, 277, 279, 281, 283
- eyfer/awfar* A rhythmic cycle.  
184-5, 196n, 197-200, 217, 275, 277, 283
- eviç* A mode; a particular pitch.  
149, 195, 260, 262
- evsaṭ* → *awsaṭ*
- fāḥitī/faḥta ḍarb/faḥte* A rhythmic cycle.  
198-200, 208, 215n, 264n, 265n, 270-2, 275, 277, 279
- far'* → *fer'*
- farah ḍarb* A rhythmic cycle.  
12n, 135n
- far'-i far'* A rhythmic cycle.  
12n, 275
- far'-i muḥammad* → *fer'-i muḥammes*
- far'-i turk ḍarb* A rhythmic cycle.  
12n, 275
- far'-i turkī-yi aṣl* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 272, 275
- farruḥ ḍarb* A rhythmic cycle.  
12n, 135n, 275
- faṣl* (A 'division') A complex suite form in the Ottoman tradition.  
149, 199
- fāṣila* (A 'disjunction') A concept employed by early Arab theorists in the analysis of rhythm.  
280
- fer'/far'* A rhythmic cycle.  
166, 196n, 198-200, 264, 265n, 270, 272, 275
- fer'-i muḥammes/far'-i muḥammad* A rhythmic cycle.  
12n, 196n, 200, 264, 275

- firūdāšt* (P 'latter part, end') A form: the fourth (and normally final) movement of the →*nawba*. 11, 25, 33n, 34n, 40, 53, 56, 59-61, 62-3, 88n, 93-4, 107, 123n, 126n, 138n, 211-2, 215, 217
- frenkçin* A rhythmic cycle. 196n, 199, 201, 275
- gardāniya/gerdāniye* A mode. 133, 139, 193, 245-7, 253-5, 256n
- gawāšt/gevešt* A mode. 133-4, 245, 251, 253, 263
- gazal* (A 'love-poetry') A form: the second movement of the →*nawba*; a section of a long setting; a setting of a second text, equivalent to →*āwīza*. 11, 25, 30, 33-4, 40, 53n, 63-5, 76, 82, 88n, 93-4, 108n, 120, 123-7, 136, 157, 171, 209, 211-2, 215, 217, 270-1
- gazal-i āḡar* (AA 'another *gazal*') 126
- gazal-i bāzgašt* (AP lit. 'the *bāzgašt* love-poetry') A setting of a further text after the setting of the main text which takes the place of the syllabic →*bāzgašt*. 126
- gerdāniye*→*gardāniya*  
*gevešt*→*gawāšt*  
*gūfte*→*gūfte mecmua-sı/ları*  
*gūfte mecmua-sı/ları* (PA 'word/text collection/s') Song-text collection(s). 1, 3n, 4n, 7n, 25, 35, 147, 148n, 155-6, 159, 195n, 230, 260, 283
- gūl'izār* A mode. 193n, 196n
- ḡafīf* A rhythmic cycle. 33-4, 117n, 130, 135, 169, 175, 184, 197-201, 213, 228n, 237, 265n, 266, 268-70, 272n, 273, 275-9, 281
- ḡāna/ḡāne* (P 'house; section') One of the major structural divisions in an Ottoman piece, equivalent to *bend* and, broadly, the earlier *taqsim* plus associated syllable sections. 130, 170-2, 187, 213, 217, 240n, 280
- ḡāne-i āḡar* (PA 'last section') 163n, 170-1, 172n, 176, 189
- ḡāne-i dovvom* (PP 'second section') 167, 169, 178, 188
- ḡāne-i evvel* (PA 'first section') 163n, 168-9, 189n
- ḡāne-i ṣānī* (PA 'second section') 168-9, 175, 182n, 188-9, 230
- ḡāvī/ḡāwī* A rhythmic cycle. 199, 271-2, 275, 283
- hawā'i* (A 'air') A form. 208n, 212-5
- hazaj/hezec* A rhythmic cycle. 199, 201, 217, 265n, 270, 272, 275-6
- hazaj ṣaḡīr* A rhythmic cycle. 267, 270n
- hazaj sarī* A rhythmic cycle. 197n, 265, 268n, 271-2, 275
- ḡicāz/ḡijāz* A mode. 24-5, 26n, 27, 131, 133, 139, 140n, 149, 193-4, 196n, 237, 244, 246, 251, 252n, 253, 258-60, 262, 263n
- ḡiṣār* A mode. 137n, 139n, 140, 149, 250, 252, 260
- ḡiṣār-awj* A mode. 250
- hung* (P 'power') A (generally short) syllable section characterized by the use of a limited range of just three consonants. 70-2, 74, 83-6, 92, 96, 98, 109-11, 117, 124, 172, 188, 192, 211



- ḥusaynī/hüseynī* A mode.  
24-6, 131-4, 137n, 149-50, 158,  
160, 192-4, 218-9, 224, 238,  
243-4, 246-7, 251, 253, 255,  
257, 260
- huzzām* A mode.  
252
- ḥʾājast* A mode.  
252
- ḥʾarazm* A rhythmic cycle.  
201n, 275
- ilāhī* (A 'hymn') A form of devo-  
tional song.  
159, 162
- 'irāk / 'irāq* A mode.  
14n, 24-5, 27, 131-4, 140n, 149,  
172n, 193, 195, 243-7, 250-1,  
253, 260
- 'irāq-māya* A mode.  
132, 248
- iṣfahān* A mode.  
24-6, 131, 133, 244, 246-7, 251,  
253, 255
- j → a*
- jadwal* (A 'course') A section,  
equivalent to *awwal*.  
123, 127
- jadwal-i tānī bi-'aynih* (AAA  
'second course the same') A  
section, equivalent to *awwal*.  
123-4
- jarr* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 270, 272-3, 275-6
- jarr-i fāḥitī* A rhythmic cycle.  
272, 275
- jarr-i ḥafīf* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 275
- jarr-i maḥṭūt* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 275
- kabīr* (A 'large, great')
- kār* (P 'work') A form.  
14n, 126, 154, 156-60, 162,  
164n, 166-72, 173-5, 177, 179,  
182, 184, 186-7, 189-91, 194,  
197-9, 201-3, 212, 215-6, 227-9
- kār-i muraṣṣa'* (PA 'bejewelled  
work') In early examples the  
adjective seems to refer to the use  
in a *kār* of both Arabic and  
Persian texts.  
158n, 171, 215
- kavl → qawl*
- kūčāk/kūček* A mode.  
24-5, 26n, 27, 131-3, 149, 193,  
244-6, 255, 257, 260
- kūčāk-rakīb* A mode.  
248
- kull al-ḍurūb* (AA 'all the  
rhythms') A form.  
212, 214-5, 270
- kull al-ḍurūb wa-'l-naḡam* (AAA  
'all the rhythms and notes') A  
form.  
215
- kull al-naḡam* (AA 'all the notes')  
A form.  
212, 214-5, 270
- kullī kulliyāt/kullī kulliyāt* (AA  
'complete compendium') A  
form.  
35, 40, 138-40, 144, 214, 256
- kulliyāt* (A 'compendium') A  
form.  
25, 26n, 35, 40, 69, 138-40,  
215, 251, 253, 261
- kūrdī* A mode.  
149, 193n, 194, 260
- lahn* (pl. *alḥān*) (A 'melody')  
140
- lāzime* (A 'remaining, persistent;  
necessary') A section of an Otto-  
man piece which will normally  
recur.  
167-9, 171, 175, 177-82, 184,  
187-9
- lenk fāḥte* A rhythmic cycle.  
283

- māhūr* A mode.  
137n, 149, 181, 247, 260
- māhūr-i ḥaḥā'i* A mode.  
250, 252
- majlis afṛūz* A mode.  
251
- maqām/maqām* (A 'position') Generic term for mode.  
38-9, 149, 162, 193n, 238, 242, 257, 263
- malw* (A 'hastening') A section, equivalent to → *āwīza*.  
84, 105, 124
- maqlūb* A mode.  
252
- maṣṭa* (A 'beginning, first verse') First section.  
216
- māya* A mode.  
26n, 131-4, 245-6, 250, 252n, 253-4
- mecmua* → *güfte mecmua-sı/ları*
- mehter* (P 'groom') Ottoman military/ceremonial band.  
200n
- mi'atayn* → *darb-i mi'atayn*
- miṭluḥ* (A 'the like') A section, equivalent to → *awwal*.  
53, 78-9, 105-6, 123-4, 188, 209
- miṭluḥ dar awwal* (APA lit. 'the like of it in the first') A section, equivalent to → *awwal*.  
81
- miyān* → *miyān ḥāna*
- miyān ḥāna* (P 'middle section') A section following the setting for the first two verse blocks and providing melodic contrast.  
53-5, 57-9, 61-3, 65, 67-73, 75-81, 83, 93, 103-5, 120, 123-8, 139, 161-2, 163n, 167-73, 175-6, 179, 182n, 184-5, 187, 188n, 189, 209-13, 216, 219, 221-3, 229, 233, 235, 237
- mubārqa'* A mode.  
249-51
- muḡnī* (A lit. 'that which suffices') An arch-lute.  
145
- muḥajjal* A rhythmic cycle.  
34, 135, 197n, 266, 268, 271-3, 275, 279
- muḥammas/muḥammes* A rhythmic cycle.  
33n, 135n, 170, 173, 197-201, 213, 216-7, 236n, 264, 265n, 270, 272, 275, 277, 283
- muḥammas ṣaḡir* A rhythmic cycle.  
264, 268n
- muḥayyir* A mode.  
149, 195, 247, 250n, 256, 260
- mūkerrer* (A 'repeated')  
169, 189, 230
- mülâzime* (A 'persistent, adhering') A section of an Ottoman piece that will recur.  
173, 175, 187
- murabba'* (A 'quatrain') A form.  
158-62, 164-5, 172, 179, 183, 186-7, 215, 238
- muraṣṣa'* → *kār-i muraṣṣa'*, *qawl-i muraṣṣa'*
- murgak* A mode.  
252
- müsemmen* A rhythmic cycle.  
283
- mustahall* (A 'beginning') An initial syllable section.  
53, 55-71, 79, 81, 83-8, 91-2, 95, 109, 112, 114, 117, 120, 123-4, 167-8, 174, 188, 211
- mustazād/müstezād* (A 'extra, additional') A fifth movement added to the → *nawba* by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡi.  
25, 40, 51, 52-9, 61, 88n, 92-3, 104, 107, 182-3, 212, 215, 217, 219, 221, 253-4
- muṭbiq* (A 'covering; complete') (Possible alternative readings are *muṭbaq* 'pressed' and *muṭabbig* 'covering'.)  
250
- muwaṣṣaḥ kullī* (AA 'comprehensive muwaṣṣaḥ', the *muwaṣṣaḥ* being a stanzaic verse form.) A piece of the same type as the *kullī kulliyār*.

- 138n, 140, 256n  
*muzaaf devr-i kebir.* A rhythmic cycle.  
 282
- naḥṣ/naḳış/naqş* (A 'embroidery, decoration') A form.  
 34, 40, 127-9, 132n, 142-3, 154, 156-60, 162, 164, 173-9, 180, 182, 184-7, 188n, 190-1, 197-9, 203, 215-6, 227, 240, 246n, 266n
- naḳarāt/naqara* (A 'percussion(s)') A repeat of a verse section; a syllable section.  
 189
- naql-i diğar* (AP 'another trans-  
 ition') A further substantial  
 syllable section subsequent to the  
*bāzgaşr.*  
 62, 67, 80, 84, 86-7, 106n, 110,  
 124, 188, 210, 211
- naqş→naḥṣ*  
*naşid* (al-'arab) / *naşid(-i 'arab)*  
 (AA 'declamation/song of the  
 Arabs') A form.  
 209, 212, 214-5
- nawā/nevā* A mode.  
 24-7, 38n, 131-3, 137n, 194-5,  
 238, 243-6, 250, 253, 255,  
 256n, 260, 262
- nawā-būsalik* A mode.  
 248
- nawā maḥaṭṭ-i māya* A mode.  
 131-2, 248
- nawā-māya* A mode.  
 132, 248
- nawā-yi şabānkāri* A mode.  
 250, 252
- nawba/nawbat-i murattab* (A 'turn/  
 organized cycle') A suite form of  
 four (occasionally five) move-  
 ments.  
 10-1, 14, 25, 30, 33n, 34, 38-41,  
 51, 59, 65-6, 69, 123n, 125-6,  
 138, 141, 143, 154, 157, 182,  
 197, 208, 211-2, 214, 216-7,  
 219, 222
- nawrūz* A mode.  
 132-3, 242n, 245, 247, 253
- nawrūz-i aṣl* A mode.  
 133n
- nawrūz-rāst* A mode.  
 132, 248
- nāy* P ('flute')  
 145
- nevā→nawā*  
*nevrūz-'acem* A mode.  
 175, 193n
- niḥāvent/niḥāwand* A mode.  
 149, 251, 256, 260
- nikriz* A mode.  
 240
- nīm devir* A rhythmic cycle.  
 196n, 199-200, 275
- nīm devr-i kebir* A rhythmic cycle.  
 196n, 199, 201, 275
- nīm faḥte* A rhythmic cycle.  
 279n
- nīm şakil/taḳil* A rhythmic cycle.  
 197n, 198-9, 272, 275-6
- nīm sofyān* A rhythmic cycle.  
 283
- nīriz* A mode.  
 149, 247, 256, 260
- nīriz-i kabir* A mode.  
 251
- nişābūr* A mode.  
 149, 171, 260
- nişābūrak* A mode.  
 247, 251
- nişf-i kulliyāt* (AA 'half compen-  
 dium') Probably not a separate  
 form: rather a *kulliyāt* with a  
 restricted number of changes.  
 138n
- nişf-i muḥammas* A rhythmic cycle.  
 12n, 135n, 275
- nuhuft* A mode.  
 247, 250, 252n, 256
- nuhuft-i muṭbiq* A mode.  
 252
- nuqūş* (plural of *naqş*) (A 'em-  
 broidery, decorations') Possibly  
 short passages considered decora-  
 tive inserts.  
 209, 219

- panjgāh/peṅgāh* A mode.  
149, 171, 193, 195-6, 247,  
250n, 251, 252n, 256, 259-60
- panjgāh-mubārqa'* A mode.  
248
- panjgāh-nigār* A mode.  
248
- persenk* (P 'make-weight') Mean-  
ing obscure.  
185n
- pēšraw/pešrev* (P 'prelude') A  
vocal form utilizing only syllable  
material; an Ottoman instru-  
mental form.  
34, 40, 127, 130-1, 132n,  
137n, 138, 157, 159, 212-5,  
217, 240n, 246n, 262n
- qamariyya* A rhythmic cycle.  
266n, 267
- qawl/ḳavl* (A 'statement, utter-  
ance') A form: the first move-  
ment of the →*nawba*.  
11, 25, 30, 33n, 34n, 39-40, 56,  
65-9, 80, 82, 92-3, 107, 112,  
125-6, 138-9, 156-7, 171, 208-  
9, 210-3, 215-7, 219
- qawl-i muraṣṣa'* (AA 'bejewelled  
→*qawl*') The adjective seems to  
refer to the use of both Arabic  
and Persian texts in the same  
piece.  
13n, 215-6
- qit'a* (A 'piece') A piece; a section  
of a piece setting a long verse  
text.  
126, 215
- qit'a(-i nawba)* (AA 'a →*nawba*  
piece')  
40, 126
- qufl* (A 'lock; final line of a →  
*muwašṣah* stanza') Term for the  
various sections of the →*mu-  
wašṣah kullī*.  
140
- rahāwī* A mode.  
24-6, 31, 131-3, 149, 194-52,  
43-6, 252n, 253-4, 257, 260
- rāhkard* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 265n, 275
- rakb* A mode.  
248n
- rakib-kūcak* A mode.  
248
- rakib-nawrūz* A mode.  
248
- raḳṣ/iye* (A 'dance') A form.  
159
- ramal/remel* A rhythmic cycle.  
30, 34, 135, 199, 213, 216-8,  
275-6
- ramal-i qaṣīr* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 264n, 265n, 270, 272-3,  
275
- ramal(-i) ṭawīl* A rhythmic cycle.  
136, 197n, 264n, 265n, 266-8,  
270, 272n, 273, 275
- rāst* A mode.  
24-5, 131-4, 140, 149, 154, 179,  
193, 195-6, 229, 240n, 243-9,  
251, 253, 256-60, 267
- rāst-māya* A mode.  
250
- rāst-peṅgāh* A mode.  
193n
- rawān/revān* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 265n, 266n, 267, 272-3,  
276
- rehāwī*→*rahāwī*
- remel*→*ramal*
- rīḥta* (P 'poured, shed; mixed (of  
language)' - presumably referring  
to the use of *hindī* verse.) A  
form.  
215
- rikāb* A rhythmic cycle.  
272, 275
- rubā'i* (plural *rubā'iyāt*) (A 'quat-  
rain') A common verse form  
rhyming *aaba*.  
14n, 79, 102, 158, 161, 163-4,  
211-2, 217
- rū-yi 'irāq* A mode.  
252

- şabâ* A mode; a particular pitch.  
149, 195, 259n, 260, 262
- şabz andar şabz* A mode.  
252
- şagîr* (A 'small')
- şahnâz/şehnâz* A mode.  
132-3, 149, 253, 260
- şakîl*→*taqîl*
- salmak* A mode.  
132-4, 245, 247, 253, 255
- salmak-nuhûft* A mode.  
248
- samâ'î* (T) A rhythmic cycle (→*semâ'î*).
- sarandâz* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 265n, 271-3, 275-6, 281
- sarband* (P 'head-band, fillet') A section, normally syllabic but frequently ending with word and verse material, that will generally recur; a ritornello.  
53, 55-64, 66-77, 79-81, 83-89, 90-1, 98-9, 101-2, 105-7, 109-10, 113-4, 115n, 117-9, 122-4, 130, 137-8, 140n, 167, 172, 188-9, 211, 213, 222
- sarband-i awwal/sarband dar awwal* (PA ('first sarband')) A section, equivalent to →*awwal*.  
83, 91
- sarhâne*→*serhâne*
- sarî' al-hazaj*→*hazaj sarî'*
- şarkî* (T 'song') A form.  
154, 156-9, 162, 164n, 179, 182, 184-5, 186-7, 188n, 189n, 197, 199, 215
- şawt/şawt* (A 'voice') A form; a section, equivalent to *şawt al-wasaf*, *bayt al-wasaf* and *miyân hâna*.  
30, 40, 78-9, 81, 127, 154, 157-60, 185-6, 212-7, 227
- şawt al-'amal* A form (which may, as the name suggests, combine features of *şawt* and *'amal*).  
40, 127, 185, 215, 217
- şawt (al-wasaf)* (AA 'middle voice') A section, equivalent to →*miyân hâna*.  
209, 211, 216
- saz semâisi* (PA 'instrumental → *semâ'î*') An instrumental form using the *semâ'î-i lenk* rhythmic cycle.  
213n
- se darb* A rhythmic cycle.  
33, 135-6, 197, 199, 265n, 266-8, 270-1, 272n, 273-5, 279, 281
- segâh* A mode; a particular pitch.  
14n, 132, 149, 162, 194, 229, 233, 246-7, 249, 256, 260, 262-3
- segâh-i mu'tadil* A mode.  
252
- segâh-mâya* A mode.  
248
- segâh-mubârqa'* A mode.  
248
- segâh qarârgâh rû-yi 'irâq* A mode.  
132, 248
- segâh-'uzzâl* A mode.  
132, 248
- şehnâz*→*şahnâz*
- semâ'î/samâ'î* A rhythmic cycle; a form using that cycle.  
154, 156-160, 162, 164n, 179-84, 185-6, 188n, 192, 197, 199-200, 215, 237, 240, 265n, 271-2, 275-7, 279n, 283
- semâ'î-i lenk* A rhythmic cycle.  
197n, 200, 275-6, 282
- semâ'î-i mülstezâd* (AA 'extra *semâ'î*') A *semâ'î* setting verse with extra-long lines.  
157n, 179, 183
- sengin semâ'î* A rhythmic cycle.  
283
- serhâne* (P 'head section') The first section of an Ottoman piece.  
163n, 175, 210
- şegâh* (P 'sixth place') A particular pitch.  
243n

- ši'r* (A 'poetry') A setting of a second text; equivalent to → *āwiza*.  
123-4
- sofyan* A rhythmic cycle.  
184, 196n, 198-9, 275, 283
- šu'ba* (A 'branch') One of a particular category of modes.  
27, 30, 38n, 139-40, 196, 213, 246, 256
- šudūd* (A 'tightenings', i.e. 'tunings') A canonical group of twelve modes.  
26-7, 38n, 39, 131-4, 137-40, 142-3, 147, 193, 195-6, 213, 243-7, 251, 253-7, 259-61
- sunbula/sūnbule* A mode.  
137n, 149
- suzidilara* A mode.  
213n
- t* An abbreviation of → *takrār*.
- tahrīrāt* (A '(elegant) writings') Possibly embellishments using a particular vocal technique.  
224n
- takrār* (A 'repeat')  
54n, 61, 123, 125, 130, 189
- taḡsīm/taqsīm* (A 'division') A section setting the first verse block.  
53-72, 74-7, 79-84, 86-7, 91-4, 96, 98, 100-1, 103-6, 108, 112-4, 119, 123-4, 137-8, 140, 167, 199, 211, 221
- taqīl/ṣaḡīl* A rhythmic cycle.  
13n, 33n, 34, 62, 130, 135, 197-201, 213, 216, 238, 265n, 266, 268-70, 272n, 273, 275-9, 281, 283
- taqīl awwal* A rhythmic cycle.  
208
- taqīl ṭānī* A rhythmic cycle.  
208
- taqīl-i ramal* A rhythmic cycle.  
208
- taqsīm* → *taḡsīm*
- taqsīm-i awwal* (AA 'first division') A section, equivalent to → *taqsīm*.  
42, 78, 83-4, 92, 139
- ṭarab angiz* A rhythmic cycle.  
128, 197n, 266, 268, 270-1, 275-6
- ṭardna* (P 'song') A form: the third movement of the → *nawba*.  
25, 33n, 34n, 40, 53, 57n, 61-3, 86, 92-5, 100-2, 106-7, 123, 126n, 211-2, 215-8
- tarannum* (A 'singing, intoning') A syllable section.  
53, 55-8, 60, 62-3, 65-84, 86-9, 90-1, 93, 103, 105-7, 108n, 109, 119, 122, 124, 137, 172, 188-9, 210-1, 221-2
- ṭarīqa* → *ṭarīqa-i jadwal*, *ṭarīqa-i maṭla'*
- ṭarīqa-i jadwal* (AA 'course of the stream') A section, equivalent to → *taqsīm*.  
208-9, 211, 219, 221
- ṭarīqa-i maṭla'* (AA 'way of the beginning') A section, equivalent to → *awwal*.  
208-9, 211, 219, 221
- tarkib/terkib* (A 'combination') One of a particular category of modes.  
27, 30, 38n, 139-40, 193n, 196, 246, 248n, 256, 258-9, 263n
- taṣnīf* (A 'composition')  
33n, 34, 40, 127, 155, 215, 218
- taṣyī'a* (A 'calling; encouraging') A section, equivalent to → *bāzgašt*.  
209, 211-2, 216, 219, 221
- ṭawīl* → *ramal-i ṭawīl*
- tek* A percussion mnemonic.  
163, 264
- teke* A percussion mnemonic.  
163, 264
- terennūmāt* (A: plural of → *taran-num*) Passages of mainly syllable material.  
163, 164, 168-70, 172, 175, 188-9, 241

- terkib*→*tarkib*  
*tesbîh* (A 'glorifying God') A form of devotional song.  
 159  
*tiz* (P 'sharp') High in pitch.  
 161  
*türkaksâğı* A rhythmic cycle.  
 283  
*turkî/türkî darb* A rhythmic cycle.  
 197-200, 217, 264, 265n, 270, 272, 275-6  
*turki sari'* A rhythmic cycle.  
 267-8  
*turki-yi aşl* A rhythmic cycle.  
 197n, 208, 272, 275  
*türkü* (T 'song') A form.  
 159-60, 162
- 'ūd* (A 'lute')  
 145  
*'uşşâk/uşşâq* A mode.  
 24-6, 131, 133, 149, 168, 173, 195, 228n, 244, 246, 250-3, 255, 256n, 257, 260  
*uşûl* (A 'fundamentals') Generic term for rhythmic cycle.  
 33-4, 39-40, 155, 156  
*uşûl kardan*→(dar) *uşûl kardan*  
*'uzzâl* A mode.  
 13n, 137n, 149, 193, 247, 252n, 256, 260
- varsâğı* (T 'relating to the Varsak tribe; a ballad metre') A form.  
 159-60
- wajh-i husaynî* A mode.  
 251-2  
*warâşân*→*bereşşan*  
*waşf-i yagâh* A mode.  
 256
- yegâh* (P 'first place') A particular pitch  
 218n
- yek darb* A rhythmic cycle.  
 201n, 275  
*yl'wzk* A mode.  
 252  
*yûruk semâ'î* (also →*semâ'î*) A rhythmic cycle  
 179n, 197n, 200, 240, 276n, 281, 283
- zâhma* (P 'plectrum') A form.  
 208n, 212, 215  
*zanbûrak* A mode.  
 251  
*zangûla* A mode.  
 24-5, 30, 131, 132, 133, 137n, 139, 244-6, 251, 253, 257  
*zâwil* A mode.  
 251  
*zemin* (P 'ground, floor; introduction') First section.  
 163n, 184-5  
*zemzeme* A mode.  
 263n  
*zencîr* A rhythmic cycle.  
 196n, 199, 275, 279-80, 282n  
*zeyîl* (A 'tail') A section of an Ottoman piece.  
 168-73, 175, 176, 189, 227  
*zîlkâş* A mode.  
 251-2  
*zîrafşand* A mode.  
 26n, 244n, 253  
*zîrgûle* A mode.  
 149, 193n, 260  
*zîrkâş* A mode.  
 251

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